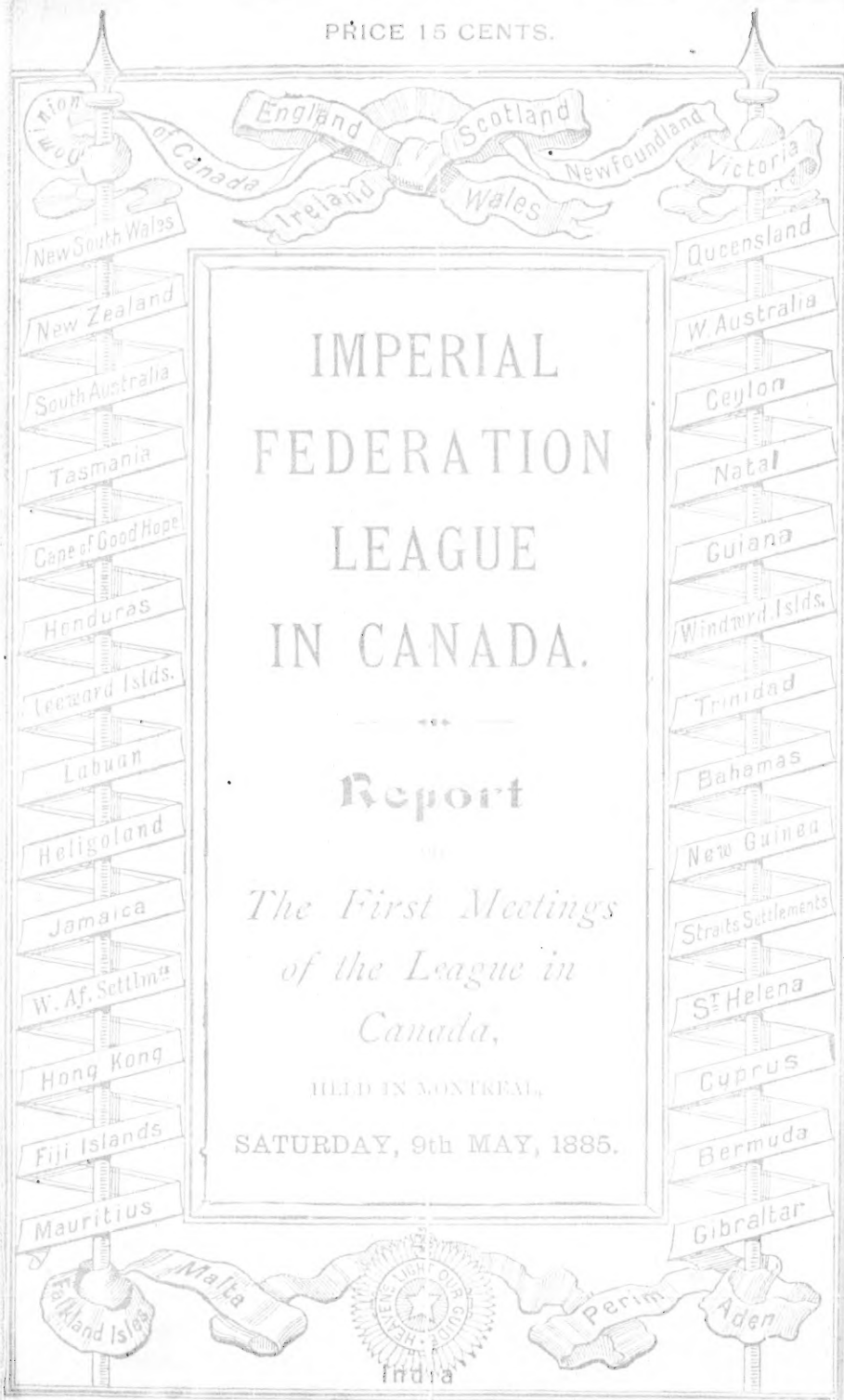




PRICE 15 CENTS.



# IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA.

## Report

*The First Meetings  
of the League in  
Canada,*

Held in Montreal,

SATURDAY, 9th MAY, 1885.



IMPERIAL  
FEDERATION LEAGUE  
IN CANADA.

— Report of the First Meetings  
of the League in Canada,  
held in Montreal, Saturday,  
9th May, 1885. —

Price 15 cents  
Wm. Drysdale & Co., Montreal, Canada

# Imperial Federation League in Canada.

## RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED AT THE MEETING AT MONTREAL, 9TH MAY, 1885.

1. That this meeting has observed with satisfaction the increased interest in the outlying portions of the Empire displayed by the people of the mother country, and the formation under the auspices of many distinguished practical statesmen of THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.
2. That to the end that the mother country and the colonies may remain perpetually under a common sovereignty, a United Empire in its foreign affairs, with constitutional liberty for every part as regards internal administration, a readjustment of the several constitutional authorities of the Empire should, as occasion arises, be made in such manner as to increase the practical efficiency of Imperial unity.
3. That the resolutions passed at the Conference held in London, on the 29th July, 1884, and at the inaugural meeting of the League on the 18th November, 1884, and notably the following:

That, in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of federation is essential.

That no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments, as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights.

meet with the hearty acceptance of this meeting.
4. That a Canadian Branch of the League be now formed, to be called THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA, and that the object of the League in Canada shall be to promote the discussion of means whereby the permanent

unity of the Empire may be maintained, and its practical efficiency increased, to further the development and interchange of the resources of its various parts, and to resist any measures tending to disintegration.

5. That the membership shall be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly subscription of at least One Dollar, out of which the necessary fees for affiliation with the League in London shall be paid.
6. That the League shall meet annually in one of the principal cities of Canada, the place of meeting for each year to be selected at the preceding annual meeting.
7. That the business of the League shall be conducted by a General Committee, to be now appointed, with power to add to their number; that the General Committee be instructed to adopt such means as they may find convenient to promote the objects of the League, and that they furnish a report at the next meeting.
8. That the co-operation of men of all political parties in every part of Canada be sought for the establishment of branches, which shall have power to elect representatives on the General Committee.

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# Imperial Federation League in Canada.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AT MEETINGS IN MONTREAL,

ON SATURDAY, 9TH MAY, 1885.

The meeting called for the formation of a branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on Saturday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, in the Ladies' Ordinary of the Windsor Hotel. There was a very large representation of Senators and members of the House of Commons, of gentlemen from other parts of Canada, and of prominent citizens of Montreal. Among those present were Messrs. Benjamin Allen, M.P., for North Grey; T. H. Allen, Ottawa; E. Crow Baker, M.P., Vancouver, B. C.; W. T. Benson, M.P., Grenville; Hector Cameron, Q.C., M.P., North Victoria; G. R. R. Cockburn, M.A., Toronto; Dr. John Ferguson, M.P., Welland; George E. Foster, M.P., Kings, N.B.; Edouard Guibault, M.P., Joliette, Que.; Rev. Principal Grant, Kingston; Senator Kaulbach, Lunenburg, N.S.; Hon. J. W. Longley, Halifax; J. Montague Leet, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Jehu Matthews, Toronto; Senator MacInnis, Hamilton and Montreal; Dalton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P., North Simcoe; Alex. McNeill, M.P., North Bruce; Senator Macfarlane, Wallace, N.S.; Senator Nelson, Burrard Inlet, B.C.; Senator Plumb, Niagara; J. C. Patterson, M.P., North Essex; A. W. Ross, M.P., Lisgar, Manitoba; Prof. Schurman, Dalhousie College, Halifax; Charles J. Townsend, M.P., Cumberland, N.S.; Senator Turner, Hamilton; John White, M.P., East Hastings; Henry Lyman, R. R. Grindley, Bank of B.N.A.; George Hague, Merchants' Bank; W. Geo. Beers, F. W. Blaiklock, J. Herbert Bartlett, E. B. Biggar, J. T. Bethune, Henry Benjamin, Hon. Mr. Justice Cross, W. G. Cruikshanks, W. W. L. Chipman, Ontario Bank; Charles Cushing, Rev. R. Campbell, Leo. H. Davidson, J. P. Edwards, Charles Garth, E. K. Greene, F. W. Henshaw, J. W. Hughes, R. M. Haldimand, Edward Hollis, Dr. Alex. Johnson, H. H. Lyman, R. C. Lyman, John Lewis, S. P. Leet, Rev. D. V. Lucas, Rev. R. Lindsay, Prof. J. Clarke Murray, J. T. McCall, Thomas Macfarlane, B. C. Maclean, J. B. McLea, R. W.

McLachlan, H. McGregor, Hugh McLennan, Arch. McGoun, Arch. McGoun, jr., David M. McGoun, J. H. Oakes, Charles S. J. Phillips, Rev. John Potts, Andrew Robertson, E. T. Scott, Jas. Stephenson, J. Alex. L. Strathy, J. Murray Smith, F. Wolferstan Thomas, Bishop Ussher, R. White, and many others.

On motion of Mr. R. R. GRINDLEY,\* MR. LYMAN, Chairman of the Provisional Montreal Committee, took the chair, and Mr. Arch. McGoun, jr., acted as Secretary.

The Chairman in explaining the objects of the meeting said there was no question of more importance to this country than the question they had met to discuss.

#### LETTERS RECEIVED.

Letters were read from a large number of gentlemen, from some of which the following are extracts :

Senator BOYD, of St. John, N.B., writes : "As one who took an active part in the union of the B. N. A. Provinces in 1867, I hope the League plan of Imperial Federation may be brought to a successful issue."

Senator ALLAN, of Toronto : "The objects of the League have my very warmest sympathy and approval."

Senator HAYTHORNE, of Charlottetown, P.E.I. : "I cordially approve of the object contemplated. Canada has already displayed—so it seems to me—an almost universal sympathy with the Imperial Federation movement, by sending her skilled boatmen for service on the Nile, and by offering further aid of a more decidedly military character, while the Australians have manifested a similar spirit. Thus have both the great groups of Britain's dependencies identified themselves with the welfare and success of the British nation and the maintenance of Imperial prestige. These practical demonstrations of loyalty to the Empire, gratifying as they are, are yet but the impromptu expression of a deeply-implanted feeling, and as we have seen, effect can be given to them through the existing organizations of the Dominion and of the respective colonies. But the large and more difficult part of the question—how colonial interests are to be asserted and guarded, how the united forces of the Empire are to be wielded, how remote colonial cities and harbours are to be defended, how and in what proportions the great expense which must of necessity be incurred is to be assessed and collected—remain for discussion, and will require time and the experience of the most sagacious statesmen of the Mother Country and her offshoots, in order to arrive at an equitable and mutually satisfactory conclusion.

\*General Manager of the Bank of British North America.

Hoping that the meeting on the 9th may prove successful and contribute its quota to the solution of the Imperial Federation problem, I am, &c."

Senator SCHULTZ, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, regrets that illness prevents his attendance, and desires to be enrolled as a member.

Senator SULLIVAN, of Kingston, Ont., who is absent in the North-West, wrote before he left expressing his sympathy with the movement.

Senator MACINNIS expressed his desire to co-operate, and hoped to attend.

Mr. C. E. KAULBACH, M.P., for Lunenburg, N.B., "wished the meeting every success."

JAMES REID, M.P., for Cariboo, B.C., says "that his sympathies are with the object of the meeting."

JOHN G. BOURINOT, of Ottawa, writes: "I trust that the attendance will be large, and that a practical direction will be given to this great Imperial movement. As a native of Nova Scotia, I feel some pride in recalling the fact that one of the most eminent and eloquent sons of that little Province, many years ago, delivered the most brilliant address that has yet appeared on the federation of the Empire. The idea is grand, and I have every hope that the discussions which have commenced in England and her dependencies, will sooner or later result in bringing about its realization."

Hon. A. C. BELL, M.P.P., leader of the Nova Scotian Opposition: "I am entirely in favor of any action to promote federation or its discussion."

Hon. DONALD FERGUSON, Provincial Secretary, Charlottetown, P.E.I., wrote: "I am delighted to find that the problem of how the full strength of the Empire may be best used for the common good is engaging the serious attention of the leading men of Canada, as well as of those of the United Kingdom, and I need scarcely say that I shall feel highly honoured in having my name placed on the list of members of the proposed organization. Hoping that the meeting may prove successful, and that I may have the pleasure of taking part in the deliberations of subsequent meetings, to advance the object so important to every loyal British subject."

Col. GZOWSKI, of Toronto, asked to be enrolled as a member.

Capt. PALISSER had just been wired for to the North-West or would have attended.

Lieutenant-Colonel PENNYMAN WORSLEY, of the Fifth Military District, writes from the Brigade Office: "There is nothing to me like Old England, and a solid federation with such excellent connexions must be dear to the hearts of the good old stock I have the honour to come from. I shall, if possible, be present."

SANDFORD FLEMING, C.M.G., LL.D., of Ottawa, writes from Weston, Ontario: "I greatly regret that I am unable to return in time to attend the meeting on Imperial Federation on Saturday. I trust, however, it will be a gratifying success. I am in full sympathy with its objects, and my cordial support may be counted on. When the Association is formed I shall be glad to be enrolled on the list of members, and any assistance in my power will be cheerfully rendered."

S. R. HESSON, M.P. for North Perth: "My best wishes are with you in your earnest efforts to forward so important a matter as Imperial Federation. Wishing you the most unbounded success, believe me with you in fullest sympathy."

LACHLAN MCCALLUM, M.P. for Monck: "I regret very much that I am unable on account of sickness to go to the Montreal meeting. Wishing you every success in your important undertaking, I am, &c."

D. W. GORDON, M.P. for Vancouver, sent a telegram promising his support.

JOHN F. WOOD, M.P. for Brockville, Ont., regretted very much being unable to attend, and added "I have no doubt the meeting will be productive of much good, even if it should for the present accomplish no more than to give form to the thoughts now being directed to this important subject. I particularly wished to be present at your meeting, when, I doubt not, there will be many able and distinguished men, whose views I had hoped and still hope may, to some extent, assume a practicable shape. For my own part, I confess I cannot see beyond the working alliance spoken of by Mr. Douglas in his able contribution to the subject of Imperial Federation, published in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*. This was the nearest approach to the line of the practicable of all the articles that have yet come under my notice. Hoping and believing that the meeting in Montreal will strengthen the tie that binds this colony to the parent state, I am, &c."

HENRY N. PAINT, M.P. for Richmond, N.S., a member for years of the Royal Colonial Institute, entertained full sympathy with Imperial Federation, and asked that we include his support as if present.

GEORGE E. CASEY, M.P. for West Elgin, telegraphed his regret at not being able to attend.

CHARLES E. HICKEY, M.P. for Dundas: "My warmest sympathies are with the movement. If nothing more can be done than expressing the desire of Canadians for the fullest and firmest union with the Mother Country consistent with our own interests, the meeting will not have been held in vain."

JOHN F. STAIRS, M.P., Halifax, N.S.: "I can assure you the movement has my hearty support, and I shall be pleased to do what I can to further the objects of the League."

ALEX. ROBERTSON, M.P., West Hastings: "Any scheme that will tend towards forming and strengthening the relations of the colonies to each other and to the Mother Country, will receive my ready sympathy and support."

CHAS. W. WELDON, M.P. for St. John, N.B., had made every effort to arrange to be present, but was prevented. He wished us success in our undertaking.

EDMUND BARNARD, a leading Q.C. in Montreal, wrote to the Secretary: "I regret that I cannot take part in the proceedings at your meeting this afternoon, but I heartily sympathise with your object as I understand it. No plan of Imperial Federation that can be devised is, I suppose, likely to be carried out during the lifetime of the present generation. Nor is it by any means certain that the question may not be found surrounded with greater difficulties than any so far mentioned, but the subject for all that is not outside practical politics. Its discussion should not be postponed to some time in the indefinite future. On the contrary, the discussion should, in my opinion, begin now and in earnest. For the present I take it we are agreed that we are to expand and gradually develop towards national life, under the conditions with which we are familiar, first securing a final determination of the scope and provisions of the Constitution now in force, and then giving it a fair trial, and extracting all that is in it that is good. But should changes become necessary, any remedy required should first be sought in the direction you advocate.

"To me, I must say, the idea of a closer union between Great Britain and its colonies, which would make us all practically subjects on equal terms of a still Greater Britain, seems not only a grand one, but one also which is full of promise. The problem is: Given the character of the people on the one hand, and the territory it inhabits on the other, under what system of government will the greatest chances be secured of individual progress and general prosperity. It is not a question of material prosperity alone. Nor is it even a question of the preservation, at least in form, of the noble institutions we have inherited, so much as a question of the standard of administration, the tone of society, and the highest and purest type of civilization. . . It is because the plan you advocate is so entirely in the line of our natural growth as a nation, and is calculated not to take away from our present fund, but to add to it, that it is so deserving of every encouragement.

"I therefore hope that the labours in the cause which have brought so much credit upon all concerned, and upon yourself in particular, will continue to be prosecuted, and that the result will be a scheme upon which all can agree, the philosopher, the statesman, and the patriot."

WILLIAM WHITE, Q.C., of Sherbrooke, Que.

WILLIAM J. PATTERSON, Secretary of the Board of Trade, Montreal.

D. R. WILKIE, of the Imperial Bank, Toronto, is in sympathy with the object and policy of the League, as shown in the Draft of Resolutions, and believes that there must be an interimperial commercial tariff.

JOHN M. CLARK, President of the Young Men's Liberal Club, Toronto : "For many years I have been strongly in favour of a Federation of the British Empire, and have taken every available opportunity of discussing the subject in debating clubs, and in the press. I think a great deal of good could be done by the establishment of a branch of the League in Ontario. I have the means of knowing that a large number of young men are favourably impressed with the grand idea of a United British Empire. It seems to me that the present is an auspicious time for the inauguration of an Association. Some means should be taken for consolidating the various Associations formed in Canada, so that they may act in concert with one another, and with the League in Great Britain."

J. H. BOWES and GEORGE H. DOUGLAS, also of Toronto, both send long lists of names for enrolment as members.

REV. D. J. MACDONNELL, of St. Andrew's Church, Presbyterian, Toronto : "The general object of the meeting has my entire sympathy. . . . I think all true Britons ought to do whatever may be practicable to strengthen the bonds that bind the Colonies and Britain."

REV. T. BEDFORD JONES, LL.D., Archdeacon of Kingston, and Rector of Napanee : "Pray enrol me as a member. If in any way, about the formation of local auxiliary branches in my part of the country, or otherwise, I can promote the object of the League, my humble services may be relied on."

REV. C. J. MACHIN, of Montreal, but absent at present, and about to be established in Port Arthur, Ont. : "Our world wide Empire does not contain a man more keenly and intensely in sympathy with the object of your meeting than myself. I reverently believe the foundation of the Empire to be the will of Almighty God ; and that its influence upon the welfare of the human race will be beyond anything we can speak of at this time. Please enrol me as a member."

REV. D. H. MACVICAR, LL.D., Principal of the Presbyterian College, Montreal.

Messages were also brought by members from R. N. HALL, M.P. for Sherbrooke, Que. ; J. T. JENKINS, M.P., Queen's County, P.E.I. ; HUGO KRANTZ, M.P. for North Waterloo.

#### THE RESOLUTIONS.

The first Resolution was moved by HON. HUGH NELSON, of Burrard's Inlet, British Columbia. "That this meeting has observed with satisfaction the increased interest in the outlying

portions of the Empire displayed by the people of the mother country, and the formation under the auspices of many distinguished practical statesmen, of the Imperial Federation League."

It was seconded by HON. H. A. N. KAULBACH, of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, and was carried unanimously.

The second Resolution was moved by MR. JEHU MATTHEWS, of Toronto, author of "A Colonist on the Colonial Question." Mr. Matthews, after modestly citing Demosthenes' saying, that a cause was weakened by the support of too eloquent a man, and that the present resolution must therefore gain strength from being proposed by one who had no pretensions to eloquence, made a most interesting address, as follows:—You will see that this resolution affirms the expediency of a readjustment of the several constitutional authorities of the Empire, with the view of increasing the practical efficiency of Imperial unity. Now, the one thing indispensably requisite to confer practical efficiency on any species of corporate union—be it state, church, company or gang—is united action with united resources. Most of all is this needed in a State, from the fact that it has to meet the heaviest responsibilities. Foreign potentates insist on holding the people of a State responsible with their properties, political liberties and lives—in a word with their all—for whatever act they may choose to regard as a *casus belli*. Controversy over the objects for which a State exists has been very hot; but I think none will refuse to agree with the authors of the *Federalist*, that the preservation of the safety of its people should be the very first. Now, does the existent union of the British Empire provide for this either as far as is practicable or desirable? With a rebellion raging in the North-West we have not a man of the regular army available for service against them. If the Russian-Pacific fleet should, next summer, force its way into the gulf of Georgia, or sweep the Australian coast, the share of England, Canada and Australia in repelling it would be utterly unknown to either. Here in this very first object of national organization there is really less provision for united action than between foreign countries maintaining an offensive and defensive alliance. If our connexion is to be of any practical use whatever there must be provision made for at least as much unity of action as exists in such alliances. That the meeting is in favour of a permanent alliance of this character I take for granted. (Cheers.) That being so, how it may be made most effective becomes the next question. To answer that question wisely and practically will require the labour of the wisest heads and of the most patriotic hearts in the Empire. And were we now to attempt to answer it, I fear that we should find ourselves involved in debates at least as animated and protracted as any that have lately exhausted the energies of our noble Canadian House of Commons. One thing, however, I will dare to say, it will never be



practically answered should Fatherland and Colonies approach each other in the spirit of the last forty years. Gibbon has well told us that a perpetual and never-ending source of discord is to be found in the desire of securing the benefits of political society while escaping its burdens. And, to tell you the honest truth, I am very much afraid that this is what both parts of the Empire have been trying to do during that time. They have concurred in dissolving the practical and retaining a legal union, under the impression that by so doing they would escape the burdens and retain the benefits of the alliance. (Hear, hear.) The actual effect of the policy is directly the reverse. England has withdrawn almost all colonial garrisons, and refused to undertake the task of colonial defence, but she has not thereby escaped the danger of being involved in wars on colonial questions, while by leaving the Colonies unprotected she has increased temptation to attack them; and decreased their inclination to accept her regulation of their foreign relations. (Hear, hear.) The Colonies have pushed their rights of self-government almost to their utmost limits; but they have not thereby avoided being involved in wars undertaken, it may be, from considerations affecting the interests of the United Kingdom exclusively; while they have diminished its motives for attending to their special interests. England has ceased to regard colonial interests in her commercial policy, and the Colonies have ceased, or are ceasing, to regard hers in their own, thereby endangering the most valuable trade which England possesses; but they are thereby probably laying on "the straw that breaks the camel's back," since this action is more likely than anything else to make England "Emancipationist"; and to lead to a total dissolution of the alliance, without which they would be at the mercy of the first assailant. Both parties should remember that it is their legal union which subjects them to the risks and responsibilities of political society, and that it is their practical union which confers its advantages by bringing the aggregate strength to the individual aid. Like all attempts at "sitting between two stools," this attempt must come to grief. But it is a matter of immense importance whether it shall come to grief by a closer union or a complete disruption of the connexion between fatherland and colonies. To explain my reasons for this belief would require much more time than the meeting can spare to this resolution. I desire a pan-Britannic Empire (Cheers), because I desire the good of Britons everywhere—whether among the free, fair homes of England; the land of Auld Lang Syne; the "sweetest isle of the ocean" whence I come; our brethren rearing an empire under the southern cross; transforming South Africa by British industry; laboring in the islands of the Caribbean Sea, or ruling an Empire greater than that of old Rome in modern India. (Loud cheers.) And—don't be frightened!—I am not

going to forget my home for over a quarter of a century in the biggest half of North America. (Cheers.) Nay, I am quite content to meet "Canada First" on its own ground; and drop Imperial Federation, if it cannot be proved to be the polity under which Canada could enjoy greater financial advantages; greater local independence; and brighter prospects both economically and morally than by any other path open to her. I, therefore, have much pleasure, Mr. Chairman, in moving:—"That to the end that the mother country and the Colonies may remain perpetually under a common sovereignty, a united Empire in its foreign affairs with constitutional liberty for every part as regards internal administration, a readjustment of the several constitutional authorities of the Empire should, as occasion arises, be made in such manner as to increase the practical efficiency of Imperial unity." (Loud applause.)

This was seconded by MR. BENJAMIN ALLEN, of Owen Sound, M.P. for North Grey, Ontario.

#### MR. ALLEN

Said it gave him great pleasure to take part in any scheme having for its object the drawing together more closely the bonds of friendship and alliance between Great Britain and her world-wide Colonial Empire in which this Dominion occupies such a conspicuous, if not indeed the foremost place. He believed the time not far distant when it would be a necessity for such ties of relationship to be even still more closely and firmly drawn than at present. And, though it might be premature to define the practical lines upon which the hoped for union should be drawn, and the mutual duties and responsibilities of the several parts of the united Empire, yet he was strongly of the opinion that it was now very opportune to give public expression to the firm and abiding loyalty of our people to the Crown, and our strong and hearty sympathy with all the other branches of the national family, in the various important works they were carrying out in their respective spheres, the difficulties they were surmounting, and the conquests they were achieving. Knowing the feeling of loyalty and patriotism that pervades this Dominion, and the strong desire of our people for a continuance of the happy relations which have so long existed between us and the Mother Country, he considered it very proper that the Dominion should thus take the initiative in the movement in favour of Federation of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Allen had therefore great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The motion was adopted unanimously.

#### MR. DALTON McCARTHY

Moved the third resolution which was as follows:—"That the resolutions passed at the conference held in London on the 29th July, 1884, and at the inaugural meeting of the League on the

18th November, 1884, and notably the following:—That, in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of federation is essential. That no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments, as regards local affairs. That any scheme of federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights—meet with the hearty acceptance of this meeting.” He said there was no danger of disintegration of the Empire, but we should draw the attention of the people to what had been suggested, and what was their possible future. Canada had much brighter prospects under our own flag than any other. It had been said that there was no national spirit among our young men, and that it could only be generated by independence; but what could be better than the glories of the Empire to which we belong? We could have for all time the glory of partnership in the Empire. We never felt ourselves inferior to the inhabitants of the British Isles—our fathers came from there,—and if their successors assumed a little superiority it was time it should be done away with. In Canada, as well as the other Colonies, the people were entitled to be placed on an equal footing with those at home. He counselled adherence to the Empire to which we were all so proud to belong. (Cheers.)

MR. TOWNSEND, of Amherst, N.S., M.P. for Cumberland County, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

#### THE CHAIRMAN

Here took occasion to say that while he was at the Philadelphia Exhibition he had met with Representatives of all the other Colonies as well as of Britain, and they celebrated the event by a dinner. The sight was an interesting one. Here were men from all parts of the world, but all belonging to the same nation, meeting together on foreign soil.

The HON. SENATOR PLUMB, of Niagara, Ont., moved the fourth resolution.

#### MR. PLUMB

Said that the Conference held in London, in July last, and the consequent meeting and formation of the Federation League, were most timely and important steps towards attaining results, which, he believed, were earnestly desired by the vast majority of the British people. Both meetings had been attended by a large representation of Statesmen and by other influential public men holding high positions at home and in the Colonies, all of whom favoured the movement. Others who were unable to attend had given their names to the League, and had cordially endorsed it. Prominent Canadians had been present and had taken part in the

proceedings of both meetings. The League, which was formed at the second meeting, was a practical beginning and a promise that the League was not directed or supported by visionary enthusiasts, but by sober-minded, thoughtful, earnest men, who would not suffer it to evaporate in high-sounding declarations or vague resolutions. (Hear, hear.) He believed that they meant business, and were proceeding in a way which would commend itself to the public judgment. (Hear, hear.) There could be no doubt as to the response they deserved, and would receive from the vast outlying Imperial possessions. They could unite in strengthening the central Empire by an equitable agreement for the defence of the common interests. (Hear.) The Colonies yet in their early youth, with their illimitable possibilities, were the chief glory of the British Empire (cheers), and the enduring illustration of the wisdom of her later policy. Throughout the discussions at the meetings, and the comments of the English press, would be found assurances that the rights of the Colonies to self-government were fully recognized as a condition precedent to any federative compact. (Hear, hear.) No attempt had been made to formulate a scheme. The first work of the League should be to rouse the people into an attitude of attention and enquiry; to lead them to consider the interdependence between England and the Colonies, and between the Colonies themselves; to prepare them for a discussion of the principles upon which Federation must be based, and of the alternatives that must present themselves to every thoughtful mind. There had been no intention to attempt, at this early stage, to lay down any dogmatic plan, however broad and general. The initiatory movement sought to embrace in the League all who were in favour of perpetuating British connexion by asking them to come forward and unite with it. (Cheers.) The time had not come for the adoption, or even the discussion by the League of any principles beyond those already promulgated. The processes of evolution would be in the direction he believed, not of disintegration, but of assimilation (cheers), and the processes might be slow or they might be suddenly stimulated by the progress of events already within our cognizance. Whatever might come he believed the people of Canada would stand up as a unit in defence of the Empire. (Applause.) The Imperial League is declared to have been formed for the purpose of promoting the cause of Imperial Federation. Its constitution is in harmony with the statements he had already made, and provides that no scheme of Federation should interfere with existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs, and that the object of such Federation should be to combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of the common interests, and to provide for an organized defence of common rights. These are the postulates to which our assent is asked. It should be

a matter of deep congratulation that we are enabled to unite with our fellow subjects in the furtherance of so grand an undertaking and that here, in the chief commercial city of Canada, so many representatives of the Dominion have gathered together to form a branch of the League, and I am honoured by the request to move "That a Canadian branch of the League be now formed, to be called the Imperial Federation League in Canada, and that the object of the League in Canada shall be to promote the discussion of means whereby the permanent unity of the Empire may be maintained, and its practical efficiency increased, to further the development and interchange of the resources of its various parts, and to resist any measures tending to disintegration."

MR. W. T. BENSON, of Cardinal, M.P. for Grenville, Ont., seconded this resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The HON. MR. LONGLEY, of Halifax, who had been asked to move the next resolution, said he had informed the Secretary that he had not formed a decided opinion upon the points involved in some of the other resolutions, and had come rather to confer with the gentlemen and hear the discussion than to take any active part in the business. He did not think the time had yet arrived for Imperial Federation, but thought it was rather an occasion to renew their covenant of loyalty to Great Britain. Still he had no objection to move the next resolution.

MR. COCKBURN was, however, substituted for Mr. Longley as the mover of the resolution.

The fifth resolution was accordingly moved by MR. GEORGE R. COCKBURN, M.A., one of the Toronto deputation, seconded by MR. E. CROW BAKER, M.P. for Victoria, B.C., as follows :

"That the membership shall be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly subscription of at least One Dollar, out of which the necessary fees for affiliation with the League in London shall be paid ; That the League shall meet annually in one of the principal cities of Canada, the place of meeting for each year to be selected at the preceding annual meeting."

#### MR. COCKBURN

Said he was not here to mince matters, he knew exactly what he was about, and he hailed with great satisfaction the broad basis upon which this resolution rested, opening as it did the membership to every British Subject. There was no question of party politics here. (Hear, hear.) Before joining this great Pan-Britannic Federation no man had to consider whether he were a Liberal, a Conservative or a Radical ; a full-fledged Free Trader or an out-and-out National Policy man. The only questions he need

ask himself are : Am I a British subject ? Is my patriotism worth one hundred cents ? and, Am I willing dispassionately to consider the advisability of drawing still closer the ties that bind me to my Fatherland ? Mr. Cockburn thought the present the most opportune time to discuss the question of Imperial Federation. It was already a living issue in England, and had enlisted the warm and active sympathies of many of the leading statesmen there. It was too great and too momentous a question to be left for its decision to haphazard, or to the results of rebellion, or war, or of some great social upheaving, where angry passions, that blind the judgment, might have been aroused. (Hear, hear.) Surely British and Colonial statesmen can find some common, intelligible basis of union by which our great mother and her Colonial children can stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the world to maintain the honour and integrity of the grandest empire the world has ever seen. (Cheers.)

**MR. EDGAR CROW BAKER,\***

Replying to Mr. Longley, said that for his part he had no hesitation in supporting and endorsing not only the present resolution but every word of all the resolutions contained in the draft which had been sent him. (Loud cheers.) He gave his unqualified support to the whole platform, (Cheers,) and thought any gentleman taking part in the meeting should have made up his mind on the matter before coming. (Hear, hear.) As a native of old London on the Thames, he heartily endorsed any movement tending to make our connexion closer with the Mother Country. (Applause.) It was pleasing to find that every Province of Canada, from Prince Edward Island in the East, to Manitoba and British Columbia in the West, was represented here to-day, that we are to-night to assemble in the handsomest hall in the Dominion, to proclaim the inauguration of so important an era in our history. Those taking part were not confined to the generally accepted public men of the day—Senators and Members—but extended to Principals and Professors of Colleges, Bankers, Leading Merchants and members of the various professions. Having visited nearly every part of the world, as well as every province of Canada, during a career of 19 years in Her Majesty's Navy, he knew that wherever the British flag floated there was a strong feeling of loyalty to our Queen and the Old Country, and a strong desire to bind the parts of the Empire more closely together. In British Columbia, a constituency of which he represented, although over 2,000 miles from this metropolis and over 5,000 from England, there were thousands of men and women whose minds are imbued with the daily increasing necessity of closer union with the Old Country, whose hearts beat as warmly as any in Canada

\* Nav'g Lieut. R.N., M.P. for Victoria, British Columbia.

or elsewhere, whose bosoms swell with pride at the name of *Her* whose name the capital of that Province bears, and whose eyes glisten with delight at the thought of aiding in upholding England's honour. It would be gratifying to *them*, as it was a pride and pleasure to himself, that he, one of their representatives, had the privilege of attending a meeting of patriotic Britons, to organize a branch of the League that is formed to bring about so happy a consummation as a consolidated British Empire. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was carried with applause.

#### MR. HECTOR CAMERON \*

Moved the next resolution: "That the business of the League shall be conducted by a General Committee, to be now appointed, with power to add to their number, and that those now appointed be as follows: DALTON MCCARTHY, M.P., President; (loud applause); ARCH. MCGOUN, JR., Montreal, and J. H. BOWES, Toronto, joint Hon. Secretaries; HENRY HERBERT LYMAN, Hon. Treasurer; and the movers and seconders of resolutions at this and the Evening Meeting, the Chairman and Members of the Provisional Committee.† (applause.) That the General Committee be instructed to adopt such means as they may find convenient to promote the objects of the League, and that they furnish a report at the next meeting."

He spoke of the great change that had come over the opinions of the people of England regarding the Colonies, which clearly showed that the mother country desired closer relations with her children. The formation of the Imperial Federation League was a holding out of the hand to us, and we should accept that offer of friendship and interest, and try to discover a basis upon which we can form a closer alliance with those at home. No scheme should be formulated at present; that should be considered later, when delegates from all the Colonies should meet together in London to agree upon a plan. (Hear, hear.) He was opposed to independence, which was but another name for annexation. (Hear, hear.) In the event of Canada becoming independent he did not believe she could remain so five years, but that within that time, independence would end in annexation. And it was all the more necessary on account of this talk, now so often heard, of independence, that this movement should not be allowed to drop. (Cheers.) The resolution was carried.

MR. GEO. HAGUE, General Manager of the Merchants Bank of Canada, Montreal, seconded, and

MR. A. W. ROSS, M.P. for Lisgar, Man., supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

\* Q.C. of Toronto, M.P. for North Victoria.

† The names of the members of the Committee are at pages 3 to 6 *ante*.

## MR. HUGH McLENNAN

Moved, "That the co-operation of men of all political parties in every part of Canada be sought for the establishment of branches which shall have power to elect representatives on the general committee." He considered that this was an auspicious day for Canada. A feeling had been hanging over the people that some change in our present relations was necessary, but whether it was closer British connexion, independence or annexation, they knew not. For himself, he thought annexation was undesirable and independence impracticable. There was, he continued, a solution to the difficulty, and that was Imperial Federation, which seemed to be a spontaneous movement among the people, eagerly desired by all, irrespective of party. (Cheers.)

## HON. A. MACFARLANE \*

Seconded this resolution. He was gratified to observe that this meeting was composed of men representing every Province of our great Dominion. Such a gathering showed that the feeling had taken a strong hold of the people, and he hoped it would spread and intensify until it had taken possession of the entire population of this great country. (Loud applause.)

The resolution was carried.

## MR. DALTON McCARTHY†

Then moved, seconded by

## MR. PATTERSON, M.P. for Essex :

"That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Chairman, for his courtesy and impartiality in presiding over this meeting."

Carried unanimously amid applause, the Chairman responding in a few well chosen remarks.

\* Senator, of Wallace, Nova Scotia.

† Q.C., the President-Elect.



## PUBLIC MEETING IN THE QUEEN'S HALL.

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The public meeting in support of the Imperial Federation movement, held in the Queen's Hall in the evening, was a grand success. Although the weather was wet and dark, there were probably about seven or eight hundred persons assembled, with a fair sprinkling of ladies. Soon after eight o'clock the newly elected President of the League, MR. DALTON MCCARTHY, took his seat on the platform, being greeted on his arrival with loud and prolonged applause. He was supported on the right by Hon. Senator Plumb, George Hague, Esq., Senator Macfarlane, Principal Grant, Sir William Dawson, (Principal of McGill University, Montreal,) George E. Foster, M.P., and Prof. Schurman, and on the left by Messrs. Henry Lyman, Jehu Matthews, George R. R. Cockburn, M.A., Rev. Dr. Potts, Alex. McNeill, M.P., E. Crowe Baker, M.P., Charles J. Townsend, M.P., Rev. L. H. Jordan, and Hon. J. W. Longley.

### The CHAIRMAN

On rising to address the meeting was again loudly cheered. He spoke as follows :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : Having to-day been elected President of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, my first duty is to return thanks for the honour that has been done me. I cannot but regard it as an important and honourable position, and trust that I shall discharge the duties of the office to the satisfaction of those who have elected me to it. (Cheers.) My friends have given me very divergent advice on the duties of a Chairman. Some of them tell me that I am entitled to speak as often and as long as I like ; others, that it is my province simply to preserve order and decorum in the meeting. As I hope, upon some other occasion, to make a more formal address, when untrammelled by the duties of chairmanship, I shall this evening make my remarks brief, particularly as there are many others to speak. Last summer a large number of prominent British statesmen met together in Westminster Palace Hotel, London, to take steps for the formation of a League to promote the idea of a Federation of the Empire. I was privileged to be present at that meeting, and observed with satisfaction that its promoters decided that while the initiative in such a movement should come from the Mother Country, the Colonies, on the other hand, would have to make a closely defined expression of opinion on the subject, if it were ever to become an accomplished fact. Since that time, I have given most careful consideration to the matter, and have formed a most decided opinion that it is worthy of our study and accept-

ance. I believe that the highest development of this Country will be attained by its continuing to form part of a consolidated British Empire. (Loud cheers.) I look upon this as the legitimate destiny of the people and countries belonging to the Empire, and join heartily in the formation of a Canadian branch of the League as the best means to bring about that destiny. (Cheers.) It must soon become a practical question, and this meeting will have an important effect in furthering that end. (Cheers.) I am glad to see that in this city the re-echo has first been heard of the voice sounded in England, that in the first city of the greatest of the Colonies, a movement has been taken up which will tend to the perpetuation of the glory of the great Empire to which we are so proud to belong. (Cheers.) Nor can I see that any other condition of things than what is contemplated in this movement is required for the peaceful development and contentment of our people. I regard it as the best plan for attaining the complete national development of Canada. (Cheers.) Before the close of this century, Canada will probably have a population of little less than ten millions, and it is neither possible nor desirable that such a people should long remain without the highest national attributes. (Cheers.) It is then natural and fitting that our young men should look into the future, and consider what is the highest destiny our people are capable of attaining to. (Hear, hear.) I have heard some people say that the question is not pressing, that no change is proposed, and that it is therefore unnecessary to anticipate it. But, ladies and gentlemen, do you not know that in this very city, from this very platform, expressions have been heard from gentlemen in prominent positions in public life looking towards Independence? I am happy to say that their expressions have failed to meet with any favourable response from our people, (Cheers,) but the existence of such a state of affairs is the best justification for the formation of this organization. (Hear, hear.) It is our duty to demonstrate that such an ideal is not the true one; that our welfare is bound up with that of the Empire. We could have no higher ambition or greater aspiration than to become an integral part of that great Empire in every sense. (Cheers.) Our interests, political, social and intellectual, will be best subserved by our entering into a close and perpetual partnership with the Mother Country and the other self-governing parts of the British Empire. (Cheers.) The formation of the League in England was the offer held out to us of friendship and of such a partnership, and this should meet a hearty response from our people; for I am sure there is among us a warm, deep-seated determination to remain true to the Empire, and to seek national manhood in conjunction with all its parts. The formation of the Canadian Branch is intended to give expression to this response, and also to promote discussion of the means

of giving effect to the idea. This can be accomplished without a revolution. One revolution has settled that Colonists should not be taxed without representation. It has since been found that the Colonists are well fitted for responsible government, and the problem has yet to be fully worked out, What are the best conditions on which full responsible government shall be maintained in a permanent unity of all the communities composing it? We are all prepared to shoulder a musket in defence of the mother land, and she is equally ready to do the same by us. [Cheers.] If that sentiment fills every loyal heart, there can be no harm in putting in definite terms the conditions under which we can be called upon to stand shoulder to shoulder. [Cheers.] But I fear I am forgetting my promise to be brief. I repeat that I greatly appreciate the honour done me in electing me President of this branch of the League, and I trust its formation will contribute something to the solution of the difficulties surrounding the work we have now taken on hand.

Mr. McCarthy's address was listened to attentively, and received with much applause and enthusiasm.

MR. MCGOUN, the secretary,

Then read a letter from Senator GOWAN,\* who was prevented by illness from leaving his home in Barrie, but wished to be "counted in" among the supporters of the movement. The second letter was from Mr. JAMES C. PATTERSON, M.P. for North Essex, who had been at the afternoon meeting, but was called away from the present one. It was addressed to the Chairman and congratulated him warmly on having identified himself actively with this important movement, and believed that it would contribute essentially to the advancement of the cause. REV. JAMES BARCLAY † came to the Hall before the meeting and expressed his regret at not being able to remain, as his duties in preparing to leave for the North-West with the Garrison Artillery as their Chaplain occupied him fully.

The first resolution was then moved by Professor Schurman and seconded by Mr. McNeill, M.P.

\* HON. J. R. GOWAN of Barrie Ont., formerly a district judge, a commissioner for consolidating the statutes of Canada, Chairman of the Board of Public Instruction, retired from the Board 1883; recently appointed to the Senate.

† Of St. Paul's Church, Presbyterian, Montreal, who a few weeks ago read a masterly paper on Imperial Federation, the last of a series of papers on Canadian History, delivered throughout the winter before the St. Paul's Church Young Men's Association.

## PROFESSOR SCHURMAN.\*

I think, Sir, that both the place and the time of our meeting are of good augury for the Imperial Federation League in Canada, which we have just formed. This city of Montreal, which has occupied so conspicuous a place in our past history, and which to-day is our greatest centre not only of population, but also of enterprise, wealth and commerce, is in itself a guarantee for the success of the movement that, at the suggestion of its leading citizens, we are now inaugurating. Equally auspicious also is the time, for this year is the 350th anniversary of the discovery of Canada. And no one can look back over the long reach of intervening events to the day when Cartier first landed, amid jubilant welcomes of Indian warriors, on the vacant site of this now bustling city, without being admonished by history itself to an invincible belief in the permanency and the constant strengthening of the connexion between Canada and the rest of the Empire. (Applause.) It is true we have at present a rising against our own authority among some of the descendants, pure and mixed, of those once friendly savages; but this insurrection cannot be long-lived. And, in any case, is not the time when our brave citizen soldiers are asserting over barbarism the supremacy of Canadian law, an opportune moment for considering the best means of consolidating our whole Empire, whose mission is the maintenance of peace, and the diffusion of civilization? (Hear, hear.) Sir, I believe the federation of our Empire, which destiny has committed to this generation, though the most difficult and the most complex, is yet the most glorious task ever entrusted to statesmen. I see in it the far off event towards which the United Empire Loyalists moved at the time of the American Revolution; and, like other descendants of those exiled martyrs, I cherish the faith that their grand idea is destined to be realized. (Applause.) This hope would be delusive, it is true, if John Bright were not astray in his assertion that Canadian loyalty had its price; but this meeting to-night, nay all our history, proves that Canadian loyalty has *not* its price. (Cheers.) It is the jewel of our soul, which we shall never barter away. We have always resisted the Manchester and Birmingham schools when they declared the Colonies must ultimately break loose from the mother country, and set up for themselves. And, though in the past we could not overcome them by appeals to sentiment, we can now vanquish them with the most palpable material considerations. We assert that they themselves would be the losers by the disruption, as all experience shows that their trade follows the flag. (Cheers.) Formerly they used to point

\* Of Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S.; Late Canadian Gilchrist Scholar; some time Hume Scholar in, and now Life Governor of, University College, London.

proudly to their trade with the United States, and, thinking more of commerce than of country, proclaim that the Colonies and India cost more they were worth. But the lapse of time has altered all that, and to-day we find that of English produce and manufacture the United States take only about \$2 per head of the population, while Canada takes about \$10, Cape Colony about \$20, and Australia about \$40 per head of the population. (Applause.) The amount of British export taken in Australia alone was last year equal to all that was taken in the United States. (Applause.) And India, whose entire trade, Cobden declared less than the cost of its maintenance, now heads the list against the rest of the world as the first recipient of English exports. (Hear, hear.) In view of facts like these, which the unsentimental John Bull does not misread, it is no wonder that we now hear little in England of letting the Colonies go, much less of thrusting them out of the Empire. It is strange, indeed, that there ever should have been such a cry. Why, this American continent was the apple of discord among European nations for a century and a quarter, of which period one-half was spent in constant war. And when, after her struggles with Spain, Holland and France, England emerged as mistress of the whole North American continent, she felt a noble and a just pride in her own achievements; while foreign nations testified to her greatness, if not by admiration, by deep and unbounded envy. Then came the memorable schism in the Empire, and the independence of the United States of America. And since that day there have not been wanting Englishmen to proclaim that England's mission was to found colonies, but not to hold them, to protect them in their infancy, but not to profit from their manhood. This national self-distrust is, I believe, Sir, founded on an illusion. It proceeds on the supposition that as the old colonial policy collapsed, every colonial policy must collapse. Certainly the old colonial system could not endure. It was borrowed from the Spaniards, who farmed the new continent in the interest of Spain. But it was at once unnatural and unendurable that Englishmen in New England should be regarded as the property of Englishmen in Old England. And yet that was very much the state of the case. The Americans found their trade restricted in the interest of the mother country; they were not allowed to carry on their own industries; or, in the words of Lord Chatham, they "had not the right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe." No wonder they extricated themselves from a position so abhorrent to their sense of personal rights, and so outrageous to the dignity of humanity. (Hear, hear.) But, Sir, I must point out that those who argue from the American Revolution that the present Empire must be disintegrated, overlook the all-important difference that to-day the leading Colonies are in possession of responsible government, and have the sole control of those local affairs, in the vexatious

meddling with which George III. managed to raise a rebellion. We are not now governed in the interest of the mother country, but according to our own wishes. And had the first American Colonies had our rights and liberties, I believe we should have had to-day, instead of England and the United States, one great federated Anglo-Saxon Empire. (Applause.) But, Sir, if disintegration is an issue which history does not point to, I need scarcely say that abstract reasoning cannot make it probable. We sometimes hear that when Empires grow large they must divide. But I know no ground for this *must*. I imagine this view is a survival of primitive times, when one might ask, with Aristotle, "Who could command in war if the population were excessive, or what herald short of a Stentor could speak to them?" But steam and electricity have annihilated space and time; and the fear of too large a circumference of Empire is now as absurd as was the fear of too large a centre in the Elizabethan age, when people were aghast at the growth of London, because, as they believed, the head would be disproportionate to the body! I cannot begin here to show how metaphors like this shape our thoughts and influence our beliefs. Men have become materialists from hearing the mind described as a waxen tablet. Biblical imagery has given rise to divergent religious sects. But, surely, in politics we shall not allow ourselves to be cheated by figures of speech into a belief in the necessary ultimate disintegration of the Empire. Yet what else is the saying of Turgot, which we find so often quoted with approval, that "Colonies are like fruit, which cling to the tree only till they ripen?" I do not think this simile ever correctly represented the relation between mother country and colony, and least of all in Turgot's time, when the latter was farmed in the interest of the former. But take the figure as we find it: surely nothing but our mental indolence leads us to see in it a proof of ultimate disintegration. For when the ripe fruit drops, do not the seeds strike roots into the soil, and, in time, surround the venerable parent stem with a forest of younger growth, whose congregated trunks, and high overarching and interlacing branches, gaining strength by their union, form a massive whole, which is able to defy the winds and blasts of time and circumstance? (Applause.) I have been asked to speak here as a representative—I fear, an unworthy one—of Nova Scotia; but I am a Prince Edward Islander; and I am glad to be able to show you on the Island seal the first result of Turgot's fallen fruit. It represents a small tree under a larger one, with the words *parva sub ingenti*. The next stage will be reached when our scheme of Imperial Federation is realized, and our present condition of dependency becomes one of perfect equality. (Cheers.) For my own part, I cannot conceive of our always remaining in a state of subordination to our fellow-subjects in Great Britain. Every nation that has life in it must

grow and develop. We feel the young blood circling vigorously in our veins, and we look forward to a full national existence. Only we want it within the Empire, not without. (Applause.) We now manage our own internal affairs. The time is coming when we shall have a voice in Imperial affairs. To-day, if Great Britain makes war on Russia, our entire commerce is crippled, yet we have not a word to say in the matter. There is something unnatural in this. Colonists offer money and men to the mother country to assist in her wars: surely, as they are no longer children, it is time they had some share in the administration of colonial and imperial policy. Professor Freeman, and others, are asserting, I see, that the mother country can never relinquish her suzerainty, nor the Colonies escape from their vassalage, except by a complete separation of their present relations. But I do not think that is the way Englishmen at home regard their brethren beyond the seas. They know we are of their stock, and must be freemen; but I hope they now know we aspire, not to separation from them, but to a strengthening of the present connexion, by the assumption on our part of a fair share of the responsibilities and burdens of full British citizenship. (Hear, hear.) I shall not, Sir, longer occupy your attention. But, as in bringing home this subject to the hearts and bosoms of the English people, the Imperial Federation League in England will be of prime importance, I shall close by moving the following resolution:—That this meeting hails with satisfaction the formation in England of the Imperial Federation League, having for its object the maintenance of the permanent unity of the Empire. (Applause.)

MR. McNEILL\*

Was warmly greeted on rising, and in seconding the resolution, said:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Were I to say that it afforded me pleasure to be here to-night, and to be privileged to take part in these proceedings, I should very inadequately express what I feel on the present occasion. For many years it has been the hope that lay nearest my heart in reference to matters of public interest, that I should live to see the day when a movement should be inaugurated, having for its object the consolidation of the noble Empire of which it is our glory and privilege to form so important a part. (Hear, hear.) I have been told it was a dream; but, sir, I have maintained that it had at least the advantage of being a pleasant dream—a dream of youth, and power and beauty—not a hideous nightmare of discord, dissolution and decay. (Cheers.) But I said it was something better still: that it was a dream that would come true. Mr. Chairman, the dream has come true. (Hear, hear.) We find that the movement *has* been inaugurated; and we find that the men who have identified themselves with it in England are no dreamers, but the very flower of British

\* Alex. McNeill, of Wiarton, Ont., M.P. for North Bruce.

statesmen, statesmen both Liberal and Conservative, and, above all, men especially noted and famed for practical common sense and business capacity. (Hear, hear.) In all England there are not to be found two men who, in that practical, sober-minded country, are more respected for those very qualities than Mr. Forster, (loud cheers,)—the man whom I so well remember winning for himself golden opinions, alike from political friend and foe, by his conduct of the Education Policy of the Liberal party—and Mr. Smith, the statesman of business *par excellence*, who was appointed by Lord Beaconsfield to be his First Lord of the Admiralty. (Hear, hear). These men, as you all know, have both declared their belief—Mr. Forster actually becoming President of the League, and Mr. Smith moving the main resolution at the first public meeting held in connection with it in England—that this great conception of a federation of the British Empire is *no mere dream*, but a sober question of practical politics, (hear, hear,) a question surrounded with difficulties, it is true, but difficulties by no means insurmountable, and a question of incalculable importance to every member of the British Empire. (Cheers.) But, indeed, I doubt if ever there was a proposal of a political nature submitted to the people of England which has evoked such a chorus of approval from statesmen of every school of political thought as has this proposal for consolidation of the Empire, Whig and Tory, Conservative and Radical, old and young ; men, who, like Lord Grey, the Nestor of British politics, have spent a long life in the study of Imperial politics in special reference to their bearing upon Colonial interests ; men like Lord Lorne (loud cheers,) and Lord Normanby, who have acquired practical experience of the workings of Colonial institutions in the Colonies themselves ; Sir M. H. Beach, so recently Colonial Secretary ; Lord Carnarvon, (cheers,) whose name is so intimately associated with our own confederation ; Lord Roseberry, (ringing cheers repeated over and over,) the rising hope of the Liberal party in the House of Lords, a member of the present Imperial Government, and notoriously one of Mr. Gladstone's most intimate personal friends ; Mr. Joseph Cowen, the Radical member for Newcastle ; Lord Shaftesbury, whose name is held in reverence for its connection with every good and great enterprise ; Lord Salisbury (cheers), the leader of the Conservative party ; all these, and many more of England's best and wisest have united in approval and support of this movement, and have declared their belief that the object we have in view is practical, is attainable, and is eminently calculated to benefit not only England and England's Colonies, but the whole human race. (Applause.) Now I think, Mr. Chairman, it behooves us to remember that these men are—many of them—politicians of great and varied experience, not merely in reference to such questions as those with which we are ourselves familiar, but also as to questions which in this connection



are scarcely less important ; questions of which we have had little experience, questions complex and far reaching in their consequences. I mean questions of foreign policy. Reared and trained in an atmosphere which is charged with the axioms and traditions of foreign policy, trained in the study of those delicate and complex conditions which govern the relations of nations to one another, these experienced statesmen have unanimously arrived at a very grave, to my mind a very solemn, conclusion—and this is that the present relations of the different members of our Empire to one another cannot last, (hear, hear,) and that disruption of the Empire will surely take place (I do not mean immediately) unless we adopt means to prevent what I venture to assert would, in the opinion of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of this country, be an indescribable injury to us, and, in the opinion of many, would be a calamity to mankind. (Hear, hear.) These men, who have many of them so long and so carefully studied the political horizon, with a special view to discovering and providing against impending mischief, have discovered there, it may be the cloud no bigger than a man's hand, it may be but a rising mist, but they have discovered on the political horizon that which to their practised eye is, *in the opinion of them all*, a certain sign that precautionary measures are imperatively required if we would, as I have said, avoid a disruption of the Empire. (Cheers.) And, therefore, the English members of the League were prepared to accept unanimously the proposition that our sole choice lay between Federation and Disintegration. (Hear, hear.) But, whether we are or are not prepared to accept this proposition unreservedly, we can, I think, see for ourselves very clearly some of the dangers by which the unity of the Empire is beset. All those who have the interest of the Empire at heart must have viewed with pain and alarm events which have recently taken place in Australasia and in South Africa. It is quite true that the sentiments of loyalty to the ancient throne of Britain, of affection for the old Mother Land, and of devotion to the Empire have gloriously withstood the strain. But such a strain ought never to have been imposed upon them, the repetition of such a strain would be attended with the gravest possible danger to the integrity of the Empire, and under existing circumstances there is nothing whatever to prevent a repetition of similar suicidal policy on the part of the Colonial office. Or, again, suppose England engaged in a war with some of the European powers of which Greater Britain disapproved, what a strain and shock it would be to Imperial unity were our territory invaded, our shipping destroyed, our homes laid desolate, as an incident in the prosecution of a war, in the declaration of which we had not only no voice, but against which, had we been consulted, we would have protested with all our might. And then we can all see that as the young giants of

the Imperial family become older so do their wants and requirements, ay, and their aspirations too, develop. (Hear, hear.) And so we have looming up before us the great question as to the powers which the colonies should possess to make treaties for themselves, and we can all readily see that such powers conferred upon the colonies must necessarily give rise to questions of the greatest intricacy and delicacy and danger, while, if they are not granted, agitation of a serious nature may be stimulated. (Hear, hear.) And, therefore, I think it must be evident to us all that there are dangerous elements of insecurity and instability inherent in the unorganized relations at present subsisting between the different members of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Now what we want to achieve by this Federation League is simply an organization of the Empire—a careful organization of the great forces which lie scattered about ready to our hand—a careful marshalling of them so that they may not counteract one another, but work together for the common good, that they may work for consolidation rather than for disruption; (cheers) that they may work together for the maintenance and development, and defence of common interests, rather than that they should become more and more sources of difficulty and elements of danger. (Cheers.) It is not for me to take up the time of this meeting in expressing my personal views as to how this great work can be best accomplished, what particular organization would be best suited for the requirements of the case. I have long entertained strong opinions on that subject. But details are for the future. For the present it is sufficient for me to know that the leaders of both the great political parties of the Dominion and the Premier of Ontario have expressed approval of the *object* we have in view, (cheers) and that there is a consensus of opinion among many of the ablest, wisest, most practical, most experienced statesmen of England that a better organization of the Empire is attainable; (hear, hear) that it is possible to gather together the members and mighty fragments of the Empire, and weld them into one great harmonious civilizing, freedom-giving, peace-compelling power. (Applause.) And to the young Canadian, whose spirit kindles at the burning thoughts of glorious days yet in store for his fair young Canada, I would say:—Is there not here to be found a peak—a height—where even the soaring ambition of the purest and most ardent patriotism might well fold her weary wings? (Loud cheers.) Is there to be dreamed for any nation a prouder, a more glorious destiny than that she should become one of the most potent factors in the mightiest and the noblest Empire ever known to man? (Cheers.) The words of one of England's greatest sons, written in a far distant day, and with a far different significance, read to me almost prophetic of the sudden awakening of England to-day to the full appreciation of the importance of this great issue, and prophetic also of the attitude of those who would preach to us

the dismemberment of our Empire under the guise of what they are pleased to call "Independence." Nearly two centuries and a half ago John Milton wrote :—"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms." (Applause.) Sir, we have no sympathy with those who, "in their envious gabble," would prognosticate a period of sects and schisms for the Empire of England. (Loud cheers.) We believe that there is in store for the mighty British Empire a somewhat nobler destiny than a destiny of dismemberment. We believe that the descendants of the men who founded the Empire can, and will, preserve the Empire. (Cheers.) We believe that the Forsters and Chamberlains, the Salisburys and Carnarvons,—ay, and the Langevins and Champleaus too,—the Blakes and Mackenzies, the Macdonalds and McCarthys (loud and prolonged applause); we believe that the 1,500 who with scarce food to eat or water to drink traversed the burning plains of Africa and withstood the desperate onslaught of 10,000 Arab warriors, and still pressed on to their goal (cheers); the men from our own Canada, who guided the whale-boats through the rapids of the Nile (renewed cheers); our brothers and friends from Australia (great and long continued applause) who fought our Empire's battles in the Soudan, and are ready, ay eager, should occasion arise, to fight them again on the borders of Afghanistan; the hero of the marvellous march from Cabul to Candahar (cheers); the martyr of Khartoum, whose name thrills the inmost fibres of our being (loud cheers); and last, but not least, our own Canadian boys, who, from every quarter of the Dominion, pressed to the front in the hour of need, and have already done deeds of valour and endurance of which veterans might well be proud (loud cheers)—we believe, I say, that these men are all of them cast in the self-same mould and fashioned of the self-same mettle and temper as the men who, in the days of old, by their wisdom and by their valour, won for us this glorious heritage, where justice, law, and liberty are blended, as never in the world before. (Loud applause.) We believe, I say, that these men, or such as these, can and will preserve to us our matchless empire (hear, hear)—that they will guard it and keep it whole (hear, hear)—whether it be from foes without or traitors within. (Applause.) But they must use the means.

"The fated sky  
Gives us free scope; only, doth backward pull  
Our slow designs, when we ourselves are dull."

I will conclude, Mr. Chairman, by quoting from the Poet Laureate lines, which are, I think, very appropriate at the present time :

" Hands all round ! God the traitors' hope confound !  
To the great cause of Freedom, drink, my friends,  
And the great name of England round and round."

The speaker resumed his seat amid loud and hearty applause.

The second resolution was moved by the Rev. John Potts, D.D., of the St. James Street Methodist Church, Montreal, seconded by George R. R. Cockburn, M.A., one of the delegation from Toronto.

DR. POTTS said :

It was only a few minutes ago that my friend, the Chairman, requested me to move the resolution which I now hold in my hand. I am, however, ready at noon, at midnight or at the cock-crowing to testify to my admiration of, and profound loyalty to, the British Crown. (Cheers.) I believe there never was a time when this loyal interest in the welfare of the Empire was more universal than at the present. A great deal has been said about disaffection in Ireland, but what is the fact? From the very moment that His Royal Highness placed his foot upon my native sod, until he left it again, his journey was one grand triumphal progress. (Hear.) A feature of the times, worthy of note, is the increasing knowledge of and interest in this Dominion of ours that is permeating all classes of the people in other lands, I have personally observed this. On each successive visit to the mother country I have found a marked improvement in this respect. Last year when I was over I found all eyes turned toward our great North-West, now unhappily the scene of dark foreboding and strife. It is indeed a sad calamity that has befallen our young country. But I am not inclined, even at this hour, which looks dark enough indeed, to take a pessimist view of the troubles. Let the rebellion be put down promptly. This is as clearly as can be the duty of the hour, and above all things let the *leaders* be suitably punished, and in a short time we shall see a much greater strain of immigration in that country than we have up to the present dreamed of. Everyone's attention is attracted toward it, and what we want is a vindication of the power of the central government to inspire confidence. (Hear, hear.) This Imperial Federation movement has for its object to bring closer together in a bond of common sympathy all portions of the Empire. (Hear.) It is not conceived in any unfriendly spirit toward the people to the south of us. The relations existing between them and us were never more cordial than now. (Cheers.) While, however, this is the fact, there is no feeling in this country in favor of our annexation to the United States. (Cheers.) Some speakers have said that annexation is presented to our country as

an alternative destiny with independence. I do not believe our people think of annexation for a moment. I have been going up and down this country for thirty years and have never met an annexationist. They must be a very insignificant set indeed. No statesman dare commit himself to annexation. (Hear.) The Government that proposed it would be hurled from power. From the Atlantic to the Pacific there is but one feeling and that is one of intense loyalty and devotion to the British throne. The policy of the colonial office is frequently criticized as narrow, but these critics would do well to scrutinize our own attitude and see whether we are always altogether blameless. (Hear, hear.) The signs of the times show this Imperial Federation movement to be opportune, and I wish it every success, having for its object the fostering of loyalty and the preservation of the integrity of the world-wide empire. I have, therefore, much pleasure in moving: That this meeting is glad to know that the Imperial Federation movement is being promoted by leading statesmen of all parties in the United Kingdom and the colonies, believes it is deserving of the thoughtful attention of the people of Canada, approves of the formation this day of a Canadian branch of the league, and heartily wishes success to the "Imperial Federation League in Canada."

#### MR. COCKBURN

Was introduced by the Chairman as a man who was not yet in public life, but he hoped to see him so soon. He came as one of the delegates from Toronto. Mr. Cockburn made a most vigorous, witty and pointed address. He said:—It is a great pleasure to me to see that this Imperial Federation movement is being pushed by all the leading statesmen of all parties in the United Kingdom and the colonies, and that it is a movement in which party politics are wholly ignored. It is a step from which Canada has everything to gain and nothing to lose. We are invited to give it our thoughtful attention, and most cordially will we do so. We are urged to unite more closely our fortunes with the mother land. We are sharers in the great glories of her inheritance in literature, science and art, and we are bound to her by the tender ties of a deep seated affection. (Hear, hear.) But apart altogether from this loving national sentiment that binds us, perhaps more closely than we imagine, and is a most potent factor in moulding a people's history, I think that on the basis of commercial advantage alone we have here a partnership offered to us which we should be very foolish to reject. We have only to look at statistics to prove that the trade follows the flag, and that the trade of Great Britain and her colonies and dependencies now reaches nearly £400,000,000 sterling. We should have a fair share of this mighty commerce, and as members of the British commonwealth, resident in Canada, we should enjoy the same

rights, political and commercial, which are now possessed by our fellow-countrymen in England. Such a partnership would be of enormous value in hard cash to us. And to enter such a partnership we shall soon be ready. (Hear, hear.) Canada has been a young child, but has outgrown one suit of clothes after another, has—to use schoolboys' language—burst his breeches, (laughter and applause,) and must soon get a man's outfit. This we can have in Imperial Federation. (Cheers.)

#### The HON. SENATOR PLUMB

Moved the third resolution which read as follows :—That this meeting desires to record its opinion that no scheme of federation would be acceptable to the people of Canada, that would interfere with the rights of self-government in their internal affairs which they at present enjoy.

#### MR. PLUMB said

The objects of this meeting have been ably stated, and the resolution which I have the honour to propose is one that is strictly in accordance with the principles upon which the Federation League has been formed in England, and which has been adopted to-day as part of the constitution of the branch League in Canada. (Hear, hear). Fears have been expressed at the outset, that the originators of the movement design it to take away from the Colonies that perfect independence of action in the management of their internal affairs which they now enjoy—the full liberty that should be jealously guarded, against any curtailment or encroachment. The resolution announces, in emphatic language, that no interference having such effect will be tolerated, and it goes no further than the express reiterated declarations of the founders of the League in their addresses at the meetings in London, and the formal embodiment of those declarations in the resolutions adopted by the Conference of the 18th of November. It is evident that there is no intention of interfering with those rights which the Colonies hold so dear. (Hear, hear). The advocates of Imperial Federation, while they are actuated by the hope that they may recreate a united Empire on a grander and more substantial footing, believe that strength for mutual objects can be best attained by perfect freedom in the management of internal affairs, but that the prestige and power to be secured by a national union of the great component parts of the Empire, the densely populated busy centre with the illimitable circumference, speaking a common language, holding the same allegiance, governed by the same system of jurisprudence and by the same constitutional authorities, and united for the common defence, cannot be over-estimated. Such a union is well worthy the highest thought and most earnest effort of the British people. Its attainment will promote the best interests of humanity, and though

it is undoubtedly surrounded by great difficulties, I do not believe they are insurmountable. (Hear, hear.) The first point to gain is to fix the public attention upon the fact that such a union is in every way desirable. The immediate need for it may not be pressing, but events of a most momentous character are occurring in other quarters of the globe which may forebode a great struggle, in which, who can say that we may not have a direct and vital interest? (Hear, hear.) There are certain national obligations that attach to all communities. They are the price of liberty and of social autonomy. Thus far the burthen has fallen upon us so lightly that we have almost ceased to regard it, but, in some form or another, it must be borne, and I alluded this afternoon to the alternatives that cannot fail to present themselves to the people of this Dominion, upon the most casual consideration of the subject. Upon contingencies that may arise at any moment, we must face our position and measure our responsibilities. We must, as part of the Empire, share in the common protection and defence, (hear, hear,) or provide for our own protection and defence as an independent country, or seek protection and defence in a union with the great Republic. I believe that the first and last of the three alternatives are the only ones that are practical. The second means Independence merely in form.

The movement, tentative as it is, is entitled to the cordial support of the public of Canada, and of its newspaper press, which thus far, I regret to see, has not encouraged it, but has rather criticized it in a carping spirit for what it has not proposed or formulated, or for what it could not be held answerable. The English press has taken the opposite course, as will be seen by reference to the extracts published by the League. The promoters of the League have wisely abstained from formulating any scheme by which the objects desired should be attained. (Hear, hear.) Such a scheme, however wise and well considered, and complete, it would have been premature to propose at the outset, and the movement would inevitably have been handicapped, and possibly rendered abortive altogether, by any attempt to lay down a hard-and-fast rule. It would have seemed like central dictation to have done so, and would have created at once jealousy, suspicion and active opposition. But everyone who reads the careful utterances of the leaders of the organization, cannot fail to be struck by their breadth and earnestness, (hear, hear,) and by their wisdom in avoiding details at the preliminary stages of discussion. First, let us make up our minds that we will have a closer union, and the methods will be found to attain it. (Cheers.) It was well said during the discussion in England, that it is the duty of statesmen to overcome difficulties. That there are difficulties to be overcome may be frankly acknowledged, but with an earnest will, and an enlightened, patriotic, loyal endeavour, the difficulties will

be surmounted. (Cheers.) It seems unreasonable and ungenerous to insist that we shall come to a meeting like this with a constitution cut and dried. The British Government has never yet found its liberties endangered for lack of a written constitution. British freedom is secured by representative institutions, which are permanent in substance, but elastic in form, and which are growing, year by year, by natural processes, out of which the system of which we are now in search may be evolved. Absolute parliamentary supremacy has only been attained during the reign of the present beloved and honoured wearer of the crown. (Loud cheers.) A few years more or less are nothing in a national existence. We can await events, but we can shape events, and this movement is intended to familiarize the public mind with the contemplation of a great and glorious assimilation of all the dependencies of the Crown with the central power, in one harmonious whole, whose mission shall be one of peace and good-will, but who shall, under a common covenant, defend themselves and each other against hostile aggression. (Cheers.) During the agitations and discussions that preceded the Confederation of the Provinces now forming this Dominion, we were constantly asked, Why should the existing order of things be disturbed? Why attempt to reconcile interests which seem naturally alien to each other? How could the Maritime Provinces be brought into a federative union with old Canada without a sacrifice for which they could not possibly receive compensation? The doubters were many, the hostility was bitter, the obstacles were discouraging, but mutual concession and earnest effort succeeded. Objections were waived in the general interest, and the final result was due largely, no doubt, to the spectacle of a fratricidal struggle at our very doors. Although less than twenty years have passed since the provinces were confederated, the progress of the Dominion since that time has only been paralleled by that of the Great Republic. We have moved by leaps and bounds under the vivifying influences of our new life, with its jealous Provincial barriers obliterated, and with the wider scope given to intercourse among ourselves, and with other countries. (Cheers.) It is marvellous to note with how little friction, comparatively, our new machinery has worked, how little collision has occurred between local and general governments, and with what harmony the several parts of the new structure have been adjusted. (Hear, hear.) The advantages have already shown themselves to be such as to preclude the possibility, whatever empirical agitators may attempt, of any move towards disintegration worthy of serious attention. (Hear, hear.) The federation of these Provinces is one of the great fixed facts of this century, and is an assurance that British Law and British Institutions are permanently rooted in the soil of the North American continent. (Cheers.) Instead of becoming weaker, I believe that



the tie which binds Canada to the throne will grow stronger. The more closely it is considered, the more certain it is that loyalty is no empty sound. It is a part of the nature of the descendants of the brave men who left their homes at the period of the Revolution and sacrificed everything for the old flag. (Loud cheers.) It is deeply rooted in the preponderent population of law and order-loving Quebec. It warms the hearts of hundreds of thousands of true men and devoted women in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the Eastern Townships and Ontario, and has largely moulded the character of the people who direct our institutions. It is not a sentiment whose value can be reduced to a money standard. (Cheers.) It is not for sale or to be exchanged for the speculative advantages of other alliances, no matter how specious the promises or glittering the bait. Those who hold out such lures do not appreciate the repellant forces which spurn them. (Cheers.) I can speak of the deep feeling of attachment to the throne in Canada with personal knowledge. It was my privilege, during three years of active political campaigning in '77, '78 and '82, to be present at immense open air gatherings of the people of Ontario, of the Eastern Townships and of this great city, estimated in all at, at least, 600,000. People of all politics and of both sexes attended those meetings, and it was at them that I first learned how intelligent, orderly and prosperous are the great body of Canadians. I will not say that they were always in accord with my political sentiments, but throughout the whole of the progress, there was never an instance of disorder or disturbance or an evidence of insobriety, and upon one subject there was entire unanimity—that of our adhesion and attachment to the Mother Country. Any reference to British connection always met with an enthusiastic response that gave evidence that there was no partyism upon that question, but that all hearts beat in unison, in love and fealty to the throne. (Loud cheers.) For myself I was not born a British subject, but my ancestors held places of great civil and military trust in the colonies under the Crown, prior to the Revolution. I have been largely interested in Canada for nearly forty years, have resided in Ontario for a quarter of a century; I took the oath of allegiance after careful and earnest consideration, and with the intention of keeping it as a true and loyal subject. (Applause.) I have great respect for the country of my birth, and with an intimate acquaintance with the political systems of that country, and of the country of my adoption, I do not hesitate to say that parliamentary government, with power of dissolution, ministerial responsibility, a permanent executive head and a nominated judiciary, are advantages that lead me to prefer our system. (Hear, hear.) That of ministerial responsibility is well understood by the leading statesmen of the United States to have

secured to us an immeasurable advantage in our representative government. The method of voting supplies is a check upon expenditure which grows out of ministerial responsibility, and it seems unattainable under the American system. (Hear, hear.) I have often stated that the best interests of both countries could be most effectually promoted by the most friendly commercial and social intercourse as good neighbours, but that each should work out, in its own way, its own destiny, according to its own political instincts, necessities and traditions, moving in parallel lines towards the attainment of their objects, but retaining their relative positions with mutual respect and forbearance upon such lines. (Cheers.) Colonies are not in consonance with the genius of the Republic, but Great Britain's glory consists in the Greater Britain, which embraces one-seventh of the globe, and nearly one quarter of its population. (Hear, hear.) Eight million square miles, or nearly 65 times the size of the United Kingdom, are included in the territorial possessions of the Kingdom, and contain 39 administrative divisions, the entire cost of which to England, exclusive of India, is stated by the Year Book of 1885 to be but £2,013,046. (Applause.) It is an accepted proposition that trade follows the flag. While there is a growing disposition among Foreign countries to shut out England's products by prohibitory tariffs, her trade with her Colonies is constantly increasing. (Hear, hear.) The total trade of the Colonies reaches 400 millions sterling. That of the United Kingdom is 695 millions. One-third of the export trade of the United Kingdom is to the Colonies, and about one-quarter of her imports are from them. One-half of the Colonial Imports are from Great Britain, and 46 per cent. of their exports are to Great Britain. This enormous trade is only in its infancy. (Hear, hear.) To what gigantic dimensions may it not grow if the bonds of union are not severed? (Cheers.) Great objections have been urged against Colonial Tariffs. Mr. Forster has suggested, that, as separate states, the necessities for raising larger revenues would compel the Colonies to resort to higher tariff taxation. This is well worth considering. Then, ladies and gentlemen, what vast fields for emigration do the English Colonies present, offering homes to the surplus population of the mother country. Look at our great North-West as the future wheat-producing district of the North American continent, and note the duty resting on the statesmen of Canada, to suppress effectually the unhappy disorders now unfortunately threatening those pioneer settlements. It is my belief that out of the troubles will soon come permanent peace and security, but it awakens us to a sense of great national responsibilities. The great fertile belt, which the inventions of modern science have brought nearer to the heart of England than the north

of Scotland was fifty years ago, offers a home for the enterprising emigrant, in which the constitutional rule of England may and should be perpetuated, and in which should be secured

"That sober freedom out of which there springs  
Our loyal passion for our temperate kings."

(Cheers.) Any effort towards strengthening the foundations upon which the common interests are based, anything which will keep alive the loyal feeling which animates the colonist, and stimulates his pride as a British subject, and nerves him to defend the common weal is a step in the right direction in these days when Communism and Nihilism are preached by Anarchists and illustrated by dynamite. "We cannot look upon the seeds of time and tell which grain will germinate and which fail," but, I believe that we are now sowing seed, promising ultimately to ripen into a harvest which will benefit humanity, and that through it Canada will one day become an Empire within the Empire, second only to the great centre itself. (Loud cheers.)

MR. GEORGE E. FOSTER\*

Seconded this resolution. He said: I congratulate you, Mr. Chairman upon the success of this initial movement, and I think that one of the best results that would flow from the accomplishment of Imperial Federation has been in part illustrated in this meeting. It would broaden the scope of public thought, elevate the tone of political discussion and lift us into a region of higher and healthier aspiration, of which we have caught glimpses to-night. When I see the gleam of pleasure and satisfaction beaming on your countenance to-night, which is so different from the look it often bears, sir, at two or three in the morning [laughter and applause] when our debates are going on in the House, I ask what is the reason, and the answer I know is that your mind is filled with a grander, nobler idea than those inspired by the conflict of party strife. [Cheers.] It is objected that Imperial Federation is only an idea, and some seem to suppose that simply to mention that fact effectually disposes of the whole matter. But does it? Have we gone so far in even this work-a-day and practical age, that it requires but to dub a question as "only an idea" in order to forever dispose of it? Surely we do not forget what all history and experience teach us, that the truly Imperial factors in all civilization have been ideas, and that the truly great conquerors in the world have been men who have had ideas. [Applause.] We must go a little farther then, and find if we can what kind of an idea this is; and, if in our investigation we discover that it rests upon grand underlying sentiments and deep aspirations of the Anglo-Saxon race, we must admit its force and concede its power.

\*Of Apohaqui, M.P. for King's County, N.B.

Upon which then does it rest? First, upon the broad, deep sentiment of patriotism which, talk as men will, is still a strong and dominant entity in national life. [Hear, hear.] This fair Canada of ours claims our first love. Broad in lands, rich in treasures, and full of limitless possibilities, it appeals to every true heart, and calls forth the best energies and strongest devotion of its citizens. [Hear, hear.] But our patriotism reaches further, and across three thousand miles of billowy wave embraces the grand old motherland from whose loins we sprang, whose historic past is our heritage, whose present cannot cease to deeply interest us, and for whose future we are continually solicitous. [Cheers.] Canada is not the limit of our *patria*; it extends to every shore and land over which the British flag waves and British soldiers keep watch. [Cheers.] In like manner Englishmen embrace with patriotic devotion, not simply their island home, but all that goes to make up the Greater Britain. To pluck one island or dependency from her broad possessions would contract the Fatherland, and wound the patriotism of Britons. [Hear, hear.] And thoughtful men here and there are asking the question as to how this *patria* may be best preserved in all its broad integrity, how its widely extended parts may be most closely united and most permanently established. Is it any wonder that out of this deep, broad sentiment of patriotism the idea of world-wide Federation has sprung? Then there is the aspiration for progressive interdependent development. A man prospers best when those about him keep pace with him; one part of a country is most truly progressive where its advancement is shared by all the other parts. And so the feeling is growing, and it cannot grow too rapidly, that the prosperity of one section of the Great British Empire is most fully assured when all other sections are interested therein and mutually prosperous. [Cheers.] We not only wish to get on ourselves, but we want to know that the Australian Colonies, [cheers,] that India, that the Mother-land are also getting on well. More and more it is seen that immense possibilities of mutual trade and correspondent prosperity lie in the cohesion and sympathetic interests of all parts of the Empire. The aspiration for this progressive development leads thoughtful, earnest men to consider how best it may be attained, and out of this aspiration springs the idea of Imperial Federation. [Cheers.] Again, there is the longing for security. No man works at his best or enjoys the most, whilst the sword of Damocles hangs above his head. So the worst state a country can be in is a state of uncertainty as to whither it is drifting, and what efficient provisions are made for reasonable safety and security. (Hear, hear.) This longing for security is leading statesmen and thinkers onward to the contemplation of a close union of all colonies and dependencies with the Mother-land, the extent of whose territory, the numbers of whose people, the strength of

whose armaments would be the almost certain guarantee for the security and peace of all. And fourthly, there is the aspiration for perpetuity. The young man instinct with life and whose every pulse beats with hope, turns with loathing from the contemplation of decay, and longs for continued activity. Behind us lie the great civilizations of the past, sleeping in dust, and marked by silent, crumbling monuments. Persian and Egyptian, Greek and Roman, they have lived, have died, and we wander in sad thought above their silent ruins. Shall Britain, too, greatest in civilization, widest in extent, most splendid in her light and truth, die as these have died, while her glory passes to others? General and instinctive is the yearning that this Empire shall not share the fate of preceding ones, but that its age shall be continually renewed, its life perennial, its civilization perpetual. Out of this deep and wide aspiration has been evolved the idea of Imperial Federation, in which the new and the old shall blend together in an Empire stretching through every zone, prolific in every product, and practically illimitable in variety and scope of development. [Applause.] Sir, upon this basis of sentiments and aspirations rests the idea of Imperial Federation, and resting upon these it is at once removed from the region of the chimerical, and placed in the van of those truly imperial ideas which have ruled the world. When shall it be realized? We know not, but we can be patient and wait. [Hear, hear.] The innumerable mist-motes escaping from lake and river, pass us in their wingless, invisible flight, and gather slowly in the far-off measureless spaces of Heaven. There, acted upon by nature's laws, mist-mote is added to mist-mote and drop to drop, until shower and rill and stream unite to form the broad resistless river, sweeping out with its rich volumes of precious freight towards the deep sea. [Applause.] Masses of shapeless nebulae lie far out in the regions of space. Age grows into age and cycle into cycle, but at last there springs out into view the shapely and well ordered cosmos. So, from the sentiments and aspirations of Anglo-Saxons, living where the old flag waves, is being evolved the splendid idea of Imperial Federation. Give it time and it will embody itself in an Empire whose power, whose prosperity and whose permanence shall eclipse all preceding civilizations. [Hear, hear.] But, says one, granted that you have established the idea, it is impracticable. Sir, he is a bold man who to-day dares to assert that any reasonably founded idea is impracticable. [Hear, hear.] The unexpected has so often happened, the seemingly improbable has so often been realized, that we live now under the consciousness that we are every day walking on the verge of vast possibilities which at any moment may flash their splendour of accomplished fact full in our faces. [Hear, hear.] The tallow dip of a few years ago has given place to the electric globe which lights up the

intricacies of every alley, the mule trains and pack horses which but a generation since toiled across the Rocky Mountains have been succeeded by splendid lines of railway, cutting the solid granite into channels of continuous travel, and Nature's forces, aforesaid hidden and destructive, have been trained in a thousand ways to do the service of man. [Cheers.] Half a century ago and few were the statesmen who would have prophesied the safety and success of the American Federation, yet to-day it stands stronger than ever, [cheers,] meeting equally the testings of war and of peace, wonderful in its elasticity and abiding in its strength. Why should the idea of a Federation of the British Empire be a whit more impracticable? [Cheers.] But there are indications which go to remove this more and more from the region of the impracticable. And one of these is, the rapid growth of the idea. The all powerful Manchester School of a few years ago, where is it now so far as the relations of Mother-land to Colonies is concerned? Within a brief space of time, a wonderfully brief space of time, its teaching has been dissipated, while in its place an almost universal consensus of thoughtful public opinion tends towards the closest possible union of all parts of the Empire. [Cheers.] Sir, if opinion in this direction, in Britain and the Colonies, grows in the ensuing five years as it has in the past five, no difficulty will be too great to be surmounted, no obstacle too great to be overcome, and no force of disintegration will avail against the desire for closer union. [Applause.] Another and most significant indication has but lately been afforded. Men have been fond of telling us that the tie that held the Empire together was but a rope of sand. Well, the day of peril is the day of test. When the Mother-land a few months since proposed to relieve the gallant Gordon and to "smash the Mahdi," what happened? Canada, New South Wales and other colonies vied with each other in loyal competition to send her sons to do battle side by side with England's sons, and that, too, in an aggressive war, far removed from the territory of each. A test such as this proves conclusively that the hearts of British citizens the wide world over beat true to the thought of unity and permanence. [Cheers.] Again there is the mighty, material, influence of considerations of trade and population. Place together the present aggregate totals of import and export trade between Britain and the Colonies, and alongside of that the possibilities which mutual markets open out, and immediately the thought occurs as to what might be accomplished in the way of reciprocal trade, if steps were taken to unite on a systematic and definite plan for inter-commercial development. [Hear, hear.] Then, too, while each year hundreds of thousands of sturdy workers leave the Mother Country to make homes and accumulate wealth in other lands, why should these not turn their faces towards the rich, boundless resources which invite them from almost every Colony? There they would

find a lot as prosperous as, and customs and institutions more familiar than, they could hope to find under alien flags. [Hear.] Once unite the whole into a grand Federation, with equal rights and privileges of citizenship, and this stream of population would flow out to distant parts of a common country, rather than to enrich and develop foreign countries. [Hear, hear.] The isolation of time and distance is being rapidly overcome. What with the swift steamships, the ubiquitous railway, and the space annihilating electric wire, the most distant parts of the Empire are brought closer to the central head and to each other than in olden times were the component parts of Greek or Roman Empires. The distribution of armaments, the quick transmission of executive orders, the unequalled facilities for travel, reduce in this age the objection as to time and distance to a minimum, and constitute a guarantee for easy and complete Governmental supervision. And, sir, for those who desire peace and freedom from aggressive wars, what greater guarantee could be given than the existence of a wide and world-encircling Empire, unlimited in resources and impregnable in power? Though not quite the Tennysonian Dream, may it not be the first step in that great movement which some time may eventuate in the "Parliament of man, the Federation of the world?" [Applause.] These indications all seem to me to point to the conclusion that the idea of Imperial Federation is not so impracticable as some would have us believe, and that its successful embodiment may not be very far distant. When it was proposed in 1864 that these various Provinces be joined into one broad and peaceful Dominion, we hailed the movement with gladness and delight. How much more delighted should we be if, after a score of years of successful progress, Canada should take her honoured and rightful place as a member of that grand and world-wide Empire, [Cheers,] where none are to be subjects of the other, but all free citizens, with common rights, equal privileges, and mutual aspirations. [Loud applause.]

The last resolution was moved by Principal GRANT, of Kingston, Ont., seconded by MR E. CROW BAKER, M.P. for Victoria, British Columbia.

#### PRINCIPAL GRANT\*

Was introduced by the Chairman as the star of the evening, and on rising was greeted by the audience with loud and hearty cheers. He addressed the meeting as follows :—The hour is now getting late and many of you must think you should be getting home, where, perhaps, there is someone waiting

Gathering her brows like gathering storm  
Nursing her wrath to keep it warm.

\*George M. Grant, D.D., Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

(Laughter.) But I am going to speak for 15 or 20 minutes, and if that will not make a great difference to Mrs. Caudle, you may stay to hear me. I notice on the platform and in the audience three gentlemen of my own cloth, the Very Rev. Dean Carmichael\*, Rev. Dr. Stevenson†, and the Rev. Dr. Potts‡, three men of whom Montreal may well be proud, and I feel that in addressing them I am addressing thousands besides those whom my voice can now reach. (Cheers.) The resolution I am to move is as follows:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that any scheme of federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights." Though this is not the time to formulate a complete scheme of commercial or political federation of the Empire, it by no means follows that Federationists are to do nothing, or that they are fairly open to the charge of not being practical men. If we can obtain frank and general recognition of the fundamental principle that is at the basis of the present constitution of the Empire, so far as Canada in particular is concerned, and if we can obtain a recognition also of what I believe to be immediately and necessarily involved in the acceptance of this principle; and if in connection with this we can develop a passion at home and abroad for the thorough unification of the Empire, (applause) we shall have done much, a great deal more, indeed, than those who plume themselves on being practical politicians are ever likely to do. (Hear, hear.) Granted that we are occupied with what is only foundation work, such work must always be done first. Not till that has been well done has the time come for erecting the superstructure. And, according to our conception of the greatness of the edifice to be built, will be the importance we shall attach to the foundation, and the patience we shall bestow upon it, without feeling that any time has been lost. (Hear.) "Let us see your plan;" "Produce your constitution," cry out the critics who are willing to produce for you a new constitution for the nation or the universe every week. A young gentleman who is now in the hall told me this afternoon that he had a perfect scheme of confederation drawn up, in which the functions of every citizen and every component part of the new state and of the whole organism, from the Queen on the throne to the meanest of her subjects, were clearly and carefully distinguished. I listened to him respectfully, but I took the precaution not to ask to see the scheme, and I was thankful that he did not offer to read it to me. (Laughter.) Last century the Abbé Sieyès had a cabinet full of

\* Of St. George's Church, Church of England, Montreal.

† Of Emmanuel Church, Congregational, Montreal.

‡ Of St. James Street Methodist Church, Montreal.



pigeon holes, in each one of which was a brand new constitution for France, (laughter) each different from the others, but I am not aware that France asked for them or moulded herself upon any one of them. "Give me the essence of your philosophy in a sentence," asked Madame de Stael, on her first interview with Goethe. "Madame," was the reply, "we don't do things in that way in Germany." No, nor in England either, nor anywhere among English speaking peoples, whose constitution has grown and therefore changed from the days of that Alfred who appealed in his "dooms" to the past; not in England, where

"Freedom broadens slowly down  
From precedent to precedent."

and where a step once gained is gained forever. (Applause.) We take time when anything great has to be done. And this that we propose is confessedly a great work. "The palace is not for man, but for God," said the greatest of the Hebrew kings, the man who knew how to dream as well as how to act. That was his excuse for spending long years in simply preparing for the work. The palace was to be for man, for man's loftiest service, and therefore it might well be called God's house. And this palace which we would build is for humanity and therefore for God. (Applause.) To us, even the British Empire is not an end, but a means. As a simple historical fact, it has been in the past the most powerful and efficient of all national organizations in nourishing liberty, in defending the principles of righteousness, in developing manhood, in extending benefits to all classes, creeds and colours. (Applause.) And shall we let it perish? Shall we throw it aside, as if we could divorce ourselves from so sacred a past without irreparable hurt to ourselves? (Loud cheers.) We need it for ourselves, we need it for the children who spring from our loins, we need it for our children's children. I believe that this good world in which we live is to last for some thousands of years yet, and I dare not deny to the latest generation of Canadians any of the influences for good that have been potent in determining our own character. (Applause.) Another reason why we should willingly take time to the foundation, is because the work we have on hand is not only great but new. I am aware that this admission may be used by our opponents. Indeed, the great reproach against us is that we are proposing something absolutely new under the sun. It is said that an Empire whose parts are separated by oceans has not the necessary conditions of unity, and, therefore, that we are proposing an impossibility. I do not so read history nor the signs of our own times. (Hear, hear.) To the petty kingdoms of Israel, Moab and Edom, the world Empires of Assyria, Chaldea, Egypt, Medo-Persia, must have seemed creations absolutely new. The Empire of Alexander the Great was a greater wonder. Rome came next, and

then, as now, spoke "*urbi et orbi*." Every one of these great Empires contributed to the development of humanity and to the predestined "fulness of times." When the Roman Empire broke up, the first hope for Europe was in its partial re-organization by Charlemagne. Charles V. ruled all the new world and much of the old. The great Republic to the south of us is a proof that free institutions and diversity of interests are not inconsistent with a wide-spread empire, (Hear, hear,) and that three great ranges of mountains are no break to national unity. If there could be Empires in former times, whose parts were separated by deserts, seas and mountains, much more may there be now. The characteristics of our times are the tendency to combine, to differentiation of parts in social and political organisms, and the practical abolition of the impediments to union once presented by space and time. But what we propose is in a sense new. Even were it absolutely new, are not we the children of men who did new things and did them grandly? (Cheers.) When I am told that it is impracticable, I cannot forget that the last time I was in this hall, the Newton of the nineteenth century—the Newton, at any rate, so far as electricity is concerned—made confession of sin on behalf of Section A of the British Association, the section of which he is the illustrious President, because at a meeting not many decades ago it had pronounced that to cross the Atlantic in a steamboat was impracticable. (Laughter and applause.) The ocean unites now rather than divides. It has its roadways almost as well marked as the streets of your city. Why, these roadways may yet be lighted as your streets are lighted. Who shall say that we may not yet navigate the air, or travel under the surface of the sea more comfortably than we now do upon it? Apart from all this, nothing can be clearer than that we must get rid of our old ideas of the ocean. To Horace it was "*dissociabilis*." To us, it is becoming more and more the reverse. (Hear, hear.) Already it is cheaper to carry freight over three thousand miles of sea, than over three thousand miles of land, and it may be that before long, seas will be described as uniting instead of separating countries. At any rate, whatever may be new, the heart of man is not new, the heart with its memories and its faith, its associations and its hopes. (Loud applause.) And now that science is overcoming so completely the material obstacles that alone divided those who entertained common sentiments, why should not the heart be allowed to be true to itself and its faith? Let the fullest play be given to the nobler side of our nature that material conditions will permit, and before a thing is pronounced impracticable let it be tried. We intend then, let me say at the outset, to take our time in connexion with this work. We shall be satisfied with one step at a time, satisfied if in our day we not only hold what we have, but advance an inch nearer to the desired goal. (Hear,

hear.) The one question for us is not, Is it difficult, is it new, or will it take long to bring it about, but this, Is it right? I said that we must understand first of all what is the fundamental principle at the basis of our present constitution. What is it? This, that we are now, legally, a part of the British Empire. We are as much subjects of the Queen, and we could be tried for treason here as readily as if we lived in Kent or Caithness. Our allegiance is a fact, and a fact that represents everything in the past that has made us what we are. (Applause.) It is from this basis that must always start when we think of our future. What then the alternatives to the orderly procedure along our present lines that we propose, until all who are the Queen's subjects shall be full citizens of the Empire, sharing in its responsibilities, burdens and blessings? Only two alternatives can be mentioned. A few fine young fellows, naturally somewhat impatient at our long continued state of pupilage, cry out for independence. Independence is a word that attracts, but when you give it its right name of isolation, and understand that it would of necessity be in our case a condition of intolerable dependence, its charms vanish. (Loud cheers.) If we were forced to it, we would have to do our best, but no one pretends that we are under constraint to take any such step. The one argument of weight that I have heard in favour of isolation is that colonies never produce great men. On the one hand, is this true? Not to refer to the colonies of ancient Greece, let me ask, who were George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, not to speak of others of their time almost their peers in congress? Were they not full-grown men before 1776? (Hear, hear.) Did the United States produce their equals in the next generation, or in the next, even when the population had doubled and quadrupled beyond what it had been in the colonial epoch? (Hear, hear.) A few months ago a convention of scientific men met in Washington at the invitation of the U.S. Government. Between twenty and thirty independent nations were there by their representatives. When they adopted the principles of a common first meridian, a standard day and cosmic time, the unanimity was broken by the resolute attitude of the representative of the independent state of San Domingo. (Laughter.) This worthy gentleman, as black as he is worthy, voted nay while all the rest of the world voted yea. Did the independence of his country make him great, and had the dependence of Canada a dwarfing influence on that Canadian, Sandford Fleming\*, who first called the world's attention to the whole subject? (Loud applause.) Men do not become great by following in the wake of the frog that would fain be an ox. Least of all do they become great by mere restlessness and self-assertion. (Hear, hear.) On

\* Sandford Fleming is one of our members. See his letter on page 10.

the other hand, is not the one aim and end of the Federation scheme to raise us out of the merely colonial position, and to make us full citizens of the grandest state? (Cheers.) The second alternative is annexation. This has been called Continentalism by its ablest advocates, and it is well to take not only that name but the arguments at the back of it, because it is right always to state the case of an opponent as fairly and strongly as possible. The arguments are that such a policy would be for our interest, and that the addition of loyal Canadians to the United States would so nullify the anti-British elements there that in this way we would bring about the unification of the English-speaking peoples. Now, what is meant by our interests? If material interests are meant, we should sympathize with the North-West Indian who marvelled at the folly of a poor man who declined to sell his wife for one pony or his daughter for two ponies. (Laughter.) Would he not be richer with two ponies, and without a daughter, who was adding nothing to his wealth. (Hear, hear.) The man or nation that is governed only by the thought of material interests will lose even those in the long run, for it is literally true to-day as when the Hebrew prophet announced it as a principle of the Divine Government: "The nation and the kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, that nation shall be utterly wasted." (Applause.) As to the fascinating plea that Continentalism would lead to a united Anglo-Saxondom, I do not believe it for a moment. In order to bring about union we are to begin with disunion! We are to do wrong to secure a right end! We are to bring about a great alliance of Britain, her Colonies and the United States, by separating ourselves from the Empire, insulting the Mother Country and degrading ourselves in our own eyes, and in the estimation of our neighbours! No. We are not in the market. (Cheers.) We shall not insult the United States by thinking that they are willing to buy us. (Cheers.) The man who is in the market for sale is degraded, the man who buys him is degraded. It is a shame even to speak of such things. (Cheers.) If the people of Maine thought it to be in their interest that they should be united to Canada, I should not like to suggest it to them. Is Canada something less than Maine? I believe, not only in an alliance of all English speaking men, but in the poet's "Parliament of man, the federation of the world," but every step must be taken on the lines of national duty. (Applause.) We must do right, should the heavens fall, leaving results to God. Let us clearly understand, too, that Continentalism means Rebellion or Revolution. (Hear, hear.) I believe in Evolution not Revolution. (Cheers.) Evolution is the divine plan, and it is much better than revolution. (Hear, hear.) Of course I do not deny the sacred right of revolution, nor do I pronounce upon this, that or the other concrete case. It is well known that success decides whether the revolutionist

is a patriot to be applauded or a rebel to be hanged. (Laughter and applause.) I shall not say whether the grievances in England in the seventeenth century justified the civil war, whether the adherents of the Stuarts were justified in their risings in the eighteenth century, or whether there was no other course open to the Thirteen Colonies but war. But for my own part, I do say with profound conviction, that the rebellion of the Thirteen Colonies was a calamity for themselves and the world. (Hear, hear.) And on behalf of every good man I say that to propose revolution when there is no grievance is wrong, and inexcusably wrong. (Loud applause.) Every one admits that in our case there is no grievance. (Hear, hear.) Therefore we dare not break up the Empire. (Cheers.) Rebellion without an excuse for rebellion would be something unheard of in history. Sooner or later, even if successful, we would be punished for it. Our ideas would be limited to this Continent, whereas now they naturally, because nationally, expand to our relations and to our duty to the whole world; and some day we might be forced to lend a hand to humiliate England. Rather than that, let our arms wither at the socket. (Applause.) Isolation then, and annexation being out of the question, there is no other course for us but consolidation of the Empire. (Loud and continued applause.) This, then, is our position. We are Britons. We are the Canadian subjects of Her Majesty? We intend to fight it out on this line. (Cheers.) What, then, let us ask next, is immediately and of necessity involved in this position? This, that we must take upon ourselves, with the least possible delay, its burdens as well as its blessings. (Hear, hear.) During the whole of this century we have been gradually emerging from the state of pupilage, and we Federationists have the audacity to assume that we ought now to consider ourselves full-grown men, and no longer babes and wards. (Cheers.) Up to 1818 Great Britain paid all the expenditure connected with the Civil Government of this Province. In 1810 the House of Assembly felt that the Province had so prospered as the result of half a century of British institutions, that it offered to undertake this burden, but advantage was not taken of the offer for several years. Thereafter England was still obliged to defend us from external and internal enemies. Generously she did so, often getting little thanks. Gradually she left to us the duty of keeping the peace within our own borders, so that now we are suppressing an insurrection, entirely by the expenditure of our own blood and treasure. That is so far good, but is that enough? Certainly not. There are external enemies, and should they attack, what defences would we have save the ports of Halifax and Quebec, and the wooden walls that float on every sea. (Hear, hear.) How much do we contribute to maintain that irresistible fleet in efficiency? Not one dollar. We boast often enough that we are the

fifth maritime power in the world. Every other maritime power has to pay for the honour and the profit of owning ships. In the event of war what would become of our shipping if it was not protected by British bull-dogs. (Hear, hear.) What would become of our fisheries? Our coasts might be ravaged, Halifax, St. John, the Gulf ports, Victoria, taken, the St. Lawrence waterway invaded, and Montreal laid under contribution or in ashes, if there was no fleet to sweep the seas, and keep watch and ward for us. (Applause.) You say that those evils would come upon Canada because of its connexion with Britain. Of course they would, but we have already decided that union with England is preferable to isolation or annexation, and we cannot have any condition of things without its risks and responsibilities. (Hear, hear.) Only children fancy that they can eat their cake and have it, but sometimes we, or some of us, talk like children. Well, then, the fleet of England is indispensable to our security, yet we do not pay a cent for the ships, or the guns or the men. Is it consistent with honour, consistent with self-respect, that this state of things should continue? (No.) At present, the poorest day-labourer could come here, any poor Hodge from England, Sandy from Scotland or Pat from Ireland, and, standing high above all the millionaires of Montreal, all our Right Honourables and Honourables, Senators and Members of Parliament, say to the whole box and dice of them: "Worthy gentlemen, I protect you." (Hear, hear.) That we may not sink utterly under our own self-contempt, let us in the exercise of our self-government do the right thing here. (Applause.) Let the Premier move, and let the leader of the Opposition second, that a sum—no matter what the amount, any amount they may consider reasonable in the circumstances—be offered as a voluntary contribution towards the expenses of our common guardian, though everything else should have to stand aside for the moment. (Applause.) Let this be done as a simple acknowledgement of our duty. This is the first step to take, and until it is taken all our protestations of fervent loyalty cannot be regarded as anything better than lip-service. I invite the attention of those gentlemen who say that we confine ourselves to generalities to this, and ask them why they wish us to go into more details until this is settled. One step at a time. When it is taken, we shall see more clearly what is the next step. You may say that Britain does not demand this of us, that at present we gain by her generosity, and that she would be obliged to have a fleet even if Canada did not exist. And these are the arguments of men of honour, of grown men! They are willing to be wards as long as they possibly can, to accept rations as long as they are offered! We gain, do we? We lose more than we gain. I never knew a man or nation yet that gained by sponging. (Loud cheers.) I demand the privileges of a full-grown man, and first of all the privilege of paying my own way.

(Cheers.) We talk of our loyalty. I ask simply that we back our words with deeds, unless we are willing that our cheers for the Queen should be sneered at as so much cheap gas. Remember, there is no need for extra machinery to enable us to do this duty. By voluntary action on our part, in the exercise of our own self-government, we can do it at once. (Hear, hear.) We could vote \$100,000 for poverty-stricken Irishmen, but at the very same time the poor Irishmen were being taxed to protect us. This is not a case, either, in which it is first necessary to demand more representation. We have all the representation already that we need. Besides, the measure of representation can never be the measure of duty. Women cannot send some of their number to parliament, or vote even for men, but they do their duty none the less. (Hear, hear.) Thousands of Canadians who have no vote pay their taxes and are expected to do their duty to the country. How many British subjects were represented in Parliament in the days of Alfred, Cromwell, Nelson, but all the time England expected every man to do his duty. And every man did it, thanks be to the God of our Fathers. (Loud cheers.) England has done her duty by us, and let us not forget it. Whenever we have needed her strong right arm it has been raised to fight for us, and what better proof of fidelity can man or nation give? (Applause.) Let us be equally faithful. We could then speak with regard to the protection of our shores as we cannot speak now. We could speak by letter or cable, or Agent General, or in any other way, feeling that we were on the same platform with those whom we addressed. (Loud cheers.) What would be the results of such action on our part? It would do more to convince the people of Britain that we are in earnest than fine speeches, fine writing and loud cheering could accomplish in a century. They would think of us no longer as if we were only children. They would know that they were dealing with men, and with their equals. John Bull is a creature of singular veracity and good sense. He likes to have solid ground under his feet. He is always ready to back his opinions or his statements with his money, and until he sees that we are willing to do the same he must have in his secret soul a kind of contempt for us. We must put ourselves right. (Hear, hear.) We must create a passion for the unification of the Empire in the Mother Country, (prolonged applause,) and when that is done, difficulties that now seem insurmountable will vanish. What a destiny for us! To be full partners with the richest, truest, grandest nation in the world, is it not enough to stir the blood of the coldest? (Loud cheers.) Let us begin by doing our duty and everything else will follow. A common understanding on commercial matters would be one of the first results. I could indicate a reasonable solution on this subject, but the time has not come. It is enough to say that when the British people are in earnest,

things will be done that would now be considered only the wild dreams of a visionary. A common understanding with regard to foreign relations, and the promotion of common interests and the discharge of common duties would also be results, and though this language may be styled vague by hand-to-mouth politicians, it is specific enough for those who look ahead. (Applause.) Future results would, I trust, be an indissoluble alliance, perhaps an intimate union with the United States, that would ensure the peace of the world, peace with honour, peace for the promotion of righteousness. (Applause.) But, results are not for us. They are not in our power, It is ours to do our duty. The time has come for us to take action, and in such case it is enough to know what is the first step. England is beginning to understand that cordial relations with her great colonies is a question more important than any other. By responsible statesmen she is making overtures to us, and we must respond. (Hear, hear.) The more generously we do so the better. Remember what she has done for us, and let us ask what should we do for her. Much indeed has she done for us. Not only on the Plains of Abraham and Queenstown Heights, but wherever she has struck a blow—and on how many fields has she stricken home for “the good old cause”—she fought for us and our children. (Cheers.) I stand with Browning, and so I am sure do we all :—

“ Nobly, nobly, Cape St. Vincent to the north-west died away ;  
 Sunset ran one glorious blood-red, reeking into Cadiz Bay ;  
 Bluish 'mid the burning water, full in face Trafalgar lay ;  
 In the dimmest north-east distance dawned Gibraltar grand and grey ;  
 Here and here did England help me, how can I help England, say  
 Ye who turn, as I this evening, turn to God to praise and pray.”

O, England, mother of lions, mother of heroes, mother of nations, the world would be poor without thee ! Which of thy children will desert thee ? (Enthusiastic cheers.)

From the first sentence the speaker had carried his whole audience with him, loud applause greeted the telling points in every sentence, his commanding presence and thrilling eloquence fairly enthralled the audience. As he closed the enthusiasm burst into a perfect ovation of cheers, and, finally, the whole meeting joined spontaneously in singing with splendid effect the National Anthem, “God Save the Queen.” After which the resolution was formally seconded by Mr. Baker, put to the meeting, and carried, as all the others had been, by acclamation.

The Secretary then received the names of members wishing to join, and the number received up to the close of the meeting, with those taken in the afternoon and sent in by mail, was 224.



## SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.

The resolutions passed at the above meetings were forwarded to the Secretary of the Imperial Federation League, MR. L. SERGEANT, 43 St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, London, S.W., and a reply was received expressing gratification at the formation of the Branch in Canada, also forwarding form books containing certificates of membership of the League, certified by the Secretary.

A meeting of the General Committee was held at Ottawa on the 20th June, 1885, at which, in view of the intended absence of MR. MCCARTHY in England, ALEX. MCNEILL, Esq., M.P. for North Bruce, Ont., residence Warton, Ont., was elected Vice-President.

The following members of the General Committee were appointed an Executive Committee, five to form a quorum :—

The President, Vice-President, Treasurer and two Secretaries, and Messrs. ED. Crow Baker, M.P., Victoria, B.C.; David Blain, Toronto; John Geo. Bourinot, Ottawa; John M. Clark, Toronto; Geo. R. R. Cockburn, M.A., Toronto; Wm. Drysdale, Montreal; Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., Ottawa; Geo. E. Foster, M.P., Apohaqui, N.B.; R. R. Grindley, Montreal; Principal Grant, Kingston, Ont.; R. N. Hall, M.P., Sherbrooke, Que.; J. T. Jenkins, M.P., Charlottetown, P.E.I.; J. H. Long, M.A., Peterborough, Ont.; Hy. Lyman, Montreal; Hon. D. MacInnis, Hamilton, Ont.; Jehu Matthews, Toronto; J. R. Murray, Montreal; Geo. R. Parkin, M.A., Fredericton, N.B.; Hon. L. G. Power, Halifax, N.S.; A. W. Ross, M.P., Winnipeg, Man.; Professor Schurman, Halifax; C. J. Townsend, M.P., Halifax; and C. W. Weldon, M.P., St. John, N.B.

The following RULES FOR FORMATION OF BRANCHES were also passed :—

I.—A Local Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada may be formed in any city, town, village or municipality of the Dominion, and shall consist of at least twenty members.

II.—Any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays to any such branch a yearly subscription of at least one dollar, shall be a member of the Imperial Federation League in Canada.

III.—Of the amount of each subscription paid into Local Branches, at least fifty cents shall be forwarded to the General Treasurer of the League in Canada, who, out of this sum, will forward the annual registration fee of one shilling to the Treasurer of the Central League in London, England.

## BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The following have been suggested by various members of the Committee as works connected more or less directly with the subject of Imperial Federation. They are given for the information of readers, and without committing the League to the views contained in any of the works:—

- “Organization of the Empire,” a speech by the Hon. Joseph Howe, delivered in the Nova Scotia Legislature, 11th March, 1854; and a “Letter to the Hon. Francis Hincks,” written in London, March 1855. Both published in vol. 2 of “The Speeches and Public Letters of the Hon. Joseph Howe.” Boston, 1858.
- “A Colonist on the Colonial Question,” by Jehu Matthews, of Toronto. London: Longmans, 1872.
- “Imperial Federation,” by the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. An article in the *Nineteenth Century* for February and March, 1885, pp. 201 and 552. Re-published by the Imperial Federation League.
- “Imperial Federation,” by the Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Lorne. London, 1885. Price, 1s.
- “A National Sentiment.” Speech of Hon. Edward Blake at Aurora. Ottawa: E. A. Perry, 1874.
- “The Story of Our Colonies,” by H. R. Fox Bourne. London: James Hogg & Son, 1869.
- “England and Her Colonies,” by James Anthony Froude in “Short Studies on Great Subjects,” vol. II., p. 180.
- “The Colonies Once More.” Ibid. Page 348.
- “The Political Future of Canada.” Papers by Jehu Mathews in *Canadian Monthly* for July, August and December, 1875.
- “The Defence of Great and Greater Britain,” by Captain J. C. B. Colomb. London: Edward Stanford, 1880.
- “The Federal States of the World,” by Rev. J. N. Dalton. in *Nineteenth Century*, for July, 1884, p. 96.
- “A Scheme for Imperial Federation,” by Sir Samuel Wilson. Published in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1885, p. 590.
- “Imperial Federation from an Australian Point of View,” by John Douglas, late Premier of Queensland. Article in the *Nineteenth Century* for Dec., 1884.
- “Our Growing Australian Empire,” by Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.M.G., *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1884; p. 138.
- “Australia and the Imperial Connexion,” by Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.M.G., *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1884; p. 867.

"Speech on Customs and Inland Revenue Bill," in House of Commons, 26th April, 1883. By W. Farrer Eceoyd, M.P. London: P. S. King & Son, Parliamentary Agency, King street, Westminster, S.W. Price, 2d.

Papers and Discussions in the ANNUAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE. Among others:

Vol. XI. 1879-80. Page 1.

"Extended Colonization a Necessity for the Mother Country," by Stephen Bourne, F.S.S.

Page 88.

"The National Development of Canada," by John George Bourinot.

Page 133.

"An Empire's Parliament," by A. Staveley Hill, Esq., Q.C., M.P.

Vol. XII. 1880-81. Page 85.

"The Future of the Dominion of Canada," by Sir Alex. T. Galt, G.C.M.G.

Page 213.

"Imperial and Colonial Partnership in Emigration," W. M. Torrens, M.P.

Page 346.

"The Political Organization of the Empire," by Francis P. Labellière.

Vol. XIII. 1881-82. Page 209.

"The Commercial Advantages of Federation," by William J. Harris, F.S.S.

Vol. XIV. 1882-83. Page 222.

"Postal Communication with the East: India in six days, Australia in sixteen days." By Wm. Campbell, (late M.L.C.), Victoria, Australia.

Page 391.

"The Relations of the Colonies to the Empire, Present and Future." Two Addresses delivered in Edinburgh and Greenock by Sir A. T. Galt, G.C.M.G.

Vol. XV. 1883-84. Page 40.

"Our Relations with Canada and Great Colonies," by the Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G.

#### BLUE BOOKS.

Annual Statements of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Price 3s 4d for any year.

Statistical Abstract for the several Colonies and other Possessions of the United Kingdom in each year. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Price 10½d for any year.

Copy of Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration from and into the United Kingdom, and Report to the Board of Trade thereon. London : Henry Hansard & Son. Price 9d.

Whittaker's Almanac. Edition in cloth, 2s. (The paper covered edition, 1s, is incomplete.)

Canada : Annual Trade and Navigation Tables.

" Annual Public Accounts.

" Census, 1881.

Area, Population, Finances, Trade, Shipping and Railways, of the British Empire during the year 1883, compiled specially for the London Chamber of Commerce.

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A small number of the following Pamphlets may be obtained from the Secretary, 19 Place d'Armes, Montreal, post free, at the annexed prices :

Report of the Conference held at Westminster Palace Hotel, London, 29th July, 1884, - - -	20c.
Report of the Adjourned Conference and First Meeting of the League, London, 18th November, 1884, -	7c.
Imperial Federation, by Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, reprinted from <i>Nineteenth Century</i> . - - -	10c.
Expressions of Opinion by Public Men at Home and in the Colonies, etc. - - - - -	10c.





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